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PALESTINE AND TRANSFORDAN

FILE NO. 87

Phs 5810 - 6027

CLOSED UNTIL 1972

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PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE

Following document(s) retained in the Department of origin under Section 3 (4) of the Public Records Act, 1958

E5810/87/31

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E 58/1/G E\$811/382/9.31 Talestine: moposal to carry a canal from The Lilaui or upper vondan to The Co (Com:) Beersheba sule-district Peters to 41/5 tel. 545 to Jerus alon (Exsert of Sin D. 19) Dated: 25 Sept. Harrie report on This proposal which Received: 30 181 1949 Le considers fantastic: Last Paper. " E 57697 This uttory & completely disposes of the idea of bringing tordan water to Beershebon. References. E 4 588/382/9. RMA Hanky. Sept 30. Myration (Print.)(How disposed of.) (Index.) (Action completed.) Next Paper. E 5853 25527 6/43 F.O.P.

FO 371/35039

6. Clear.

From: High Commissioner for Palestine and Trans-Jordan.

To: Minister of State, Cairo.

Despd. 16.8.43.

Addressed to Minister of State No. 205 Saving, repeated to Secretary of State No. 171 Saving.

Your saving telegram No.54 dated the 3rd August - (repeated to Colonial Office as No. 3 Saving) - paragraphs 4 and 6. Sir Douglas Harris advises that any proposal to carry a canal from the Litani or the Upper Jordan to the Beersheba sub-district via the western escarpment of the Jordan Valley is fantastic.

2. Following is text of his report:-

"Dealing first with a canal from the Upper Jordan, the following objections present themselves:-

- I. The levels are quite unsuitable. The level of the Jordan water at the northern boundary of Palestine is probably about 250 metres above sea level and there would be a heavy loss in level before Beersheba was reached due to -
- (a) the necessary slope in a canal 200 miles long, and
- (b) the loss of head in the numerous drainage crossings which would have to be negotiated.

By the time the water reached the Beersheba Sub-District, it would command at best only a tiny area in the extreme north-western corner of Beersheba in the immediate vicinity of Gaza.

- II. Diversion of the Jordan water from the river for irrigation would have the effects of -
- (a) rendering useless the hydro-electric power house of the Palestine Electric Corporation, which cost more than a million pounds to construct, and
- (b) ruining the Palestine Potash works on the Dead Sea, the most important works in the empire for the production of potash, bromine and other essential chemicals.

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Reference:
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With reference to (b), it is sufficient to mention that the Dead Sea has no outlet and that it maintains its level by virtue of the fact that the volume of water annually evaporated from its surface is replaced by the water flowing into it from the Jordan. If the Jordan supply were cut off and diverted for irrigation, the level would fall by many feet each year and the sea would eventually dry up.

A canal along the western escarpment of the Jordan Valley would be as nearly impossible both to construct and to maintain asan engineer can admit anything to be. It would run at right angles to the drainage of the tract, and would consist of an alternation of huge embankments and deep cuttings, with a drainage crossing every few furlongs. It is exactly the type of alignment which every irrigation engineer aims at avoiding, especially if it is feeding an otherwise waterless country so that a cessation of supply would entail the destruction of the groves, etc. dependent on it. It was suggested in 1935 that a small canal might be carried along the alignment now proposed, drawing its water from a point below the Power House of the Palestine Electric Corporation, for the irrigation of land lower down the Jordan Valley. I append an extract from the note which I then wrote on the subject which applies with far greater force to the large canal now suggested - (A copy of the relevant extract is enclosed with this telegram) -

IV. Even if the alignment were negotiated, and a canal, the like of which has never been constructed in the history of canal engineering, were built to bring the water to the bottom end of the Jordan Valley, there would still be a ridge 600 metres high separating the canal from the land it is proposed to irrigate. So far as I can judge from such levels as are available, and in the absence of detailed surveys, the canal would have to end with a tunnel 40 miles long, more than three times the length of any tunnel ever built, through this ridge.

Which, at the end of the alignment, would be commanded, it would be worth nearly its weight in gold. But it is by no means clear how it would be used. Nobody desires to increase the citrus area and the cost of the water alone would certainly be far more than the value of any crop of vegetables, fodder or fruit which would be grown on it. Moreover, there is still a large non-Jewish area in the Coastal Plain, where the Jews have full rights to purchase land, where these crops could be raised at a tithe of the coast on water pumped from the subsoil.

I cannot say much about a canal from the Litani, as I he no information in regard to the levels of that river. So far as I can judge from such maps as I have, the Litani is separated from the Jordan Valley by a ridge about 700 or 800 metres high, through which another tunnel would have to be driven the might be possible to obtain a rather greater command, but It might be possible to obtain a rather greater command, but objections III, IV and V mentioned in the preceding paragraph would still apply.

In my view the only satisfactory method of disposing finally of this and similar schemes which are intended by their propaganda value to suggest justification for large scale immigration is to bring out a small body of first class experts of recognised status including a Consulting Engineer and of recognised status including a Consulting Engineer and agriculturalists in order that they may submit a report the authority and bona fides of which will be unquestionable.

J.G./ELM

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Extract from a note dated the 27th September, 1935, on a proposal for a Jordan Valley Canal.

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It was with the object of enabling me to report on this scheme that I recently made an inspection of the valley. The data regarding the levels of the country are, of course, far too meagre to allow of a project for a canal being drawn up or even the roughest estimate of its cost prepared; the only question which arises at the moment is whether the prospects of a canal are sufficiently promising to make it worth the while of Government to put in hand the extensive and expensive surveys which would be required before anything in the nature of a detailed scheme could be advanced.

As regards the general physical aspect of the country through which the canal would have to pass, it would be difficult to conceive anything more unfavourable. It is always the aim of canal engineering to align irrigation channels so far as possible along watersheds, thus avoiding drainage crossings. In the case of the Jordan Valley canal there can, of course, be no question of such an alignment; the canal would have to be located at right angles to the drainage of the country, the whole of which would have to be passed either over or under the alignment.

An alignment of this nature involved enormous expenditure on drainage crossings. It is not merely a question of designing these crossings so that, in the aggregate, they shall have sufficient waterway to pass the maximum volume of flood water which is ever likely to flow off the highlands as a whole; each individual crossing must be designed to carry the maximum flood ever likely to be experienced from its own comparatively small catchment. A local storm may occur in the catchment of one wadi in one year, in that of another in another, and every crossing must be capable of passing the flood resulting from such a local storm; consequently the total discharging capacity of all the crossings on a cross-drainage alignment may have to be two or three times as great as the maximum volume which will ever cross the alignment as a whole at any one time.

It is largely for this reason that the irrigation engineer looks askance at cross-drainage canals. It is not because, given the requisite funds, he cannot design works to

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pass the required discharges but because, first, it is extraordinarily difficult to assess what will be the absolute maximum flood discharge from a small catchment in the worst possible conditions, which are what must be provided for, and secondly, because of the inordinate expense involved in constructing every crossing of such a size as to make it capable of carrying a flood which may not be experienced more than once in fifty years.

It may, perhaps, be thought that what is being advocated is a counsel of unnecessary perfection but such is not the case. It cannot be too strongly insisted upon that an irrigation canal must be absolutely safe against any possibility of failure; this is particularly so where, as here, intensive cultivation such as fruit groves is in question. A major accident to a large aqueduct or syphon may result in the supply being cut off for months while re-building is in progress and permanent damage to or even the destruction of the groves below the point of failure may thus ensue.

The Jordan Valley presents further unfavourable feature which is common in country of this kind. Comparatively few of the drainages follow well-defined permanent courses. Many of them change their courses almost annually, cutting out a channel in one direction in one year and in another direction in another; others again fan out at or about ground level, the water spreading over the countryside in all directions. Where a drainage system is crossed by a canal these tendencies cannot, of course, be permitted; breaches in the canal would inevitably result, and such breaches constitute major calamities as they usually result in the silt and debris carried by the flood water being deposited in the canal, whole reaches of which may have to be re-excavated before irrigation can be resumed. In the case of the Jordan Valley canal it would probably he necessary to train the majority of the larger drainages from the hills to the canal line in order to maintain them in definite channels and to construct a large catchwater drain, upstream of and parellel to the canal alignment, by which the surface water flowing off the hills between the larger drainages would be intercepted and conducted to the proper crossings. This would, of course, mean a serious addition both to the capital cost and to the annual maintenance charges of the works.

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A project for a cross-drainage canal is not one lightly to be embarked upon; it is always fraught with risk and is a constant source of anxiety to those responsible for its operation; At the worst it may involve grave failure both agricultural and financial. I may perhaps mention that I have myself had experience of a canal in India the situation of which was almost exactly similar to that of the suggested Jordan Valley canal. I refer to the Paharpur Canal in the North West Frontier Province which runs between the Wazirstan foot-hills and the Indus and which was designed to irrigate about 20,000 acres of land lying between the canal and the river. Its construction was completed in 1908 and for twenty years the unfortunate engineers in charge fought a losing battle to maintain it. Although drainage crossings had been provided on a liberal scale they did not allow sufficiently for exceptional local storms in the individual catchments and in one year one and in another year another of the crossings would be badly damaged and require extensive repair or partial rebuilding. Moreover, as in the Jordan Valley, the drainages were constantly changing their courses, deserting the crossings provided for them and attacking and breaching the canal at intermediate points. The irrigation effected was so precarious as to be almost useless; the canal was usually closed for repairs and re-excavation at the time when water was most needed for the The annual cost of maintenance was often three or four times as great as the gross revenue realized and ultimately, in 1928, the sum at charge on account of the canal having risen to nearly three times its original capital cost, the Government decided to cut its losses and the work was abandoned.

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INWARD TELEGRAM

E,5824

3 0 **3**EP 1943

Cypher (O.T.P.)

FROM PALESTINE (Sir H. MacMichael)

TO S. OF S., COLONIES

D. 27th September, 1943. R. 28th "00.55 hrs.

IMPORTANT

m No. 1198 Secret

Addressed to S. of S. Repeated to Minister of State No.167 Secret.

My telegram No. 1155.

Jewish arms cases.

Sirkin and Rachlin both found guilty and sentenced to 10 and 7 years imprisonment respectively. Sentences are subject to confirmation by G.C.C. Trial of Sacherov will begin on 5th October.

[™]Distributed as Most Secret.

Copies sent to:-War Office (M.I.2a) Foreign Office War Cabinet Offices

- Captain Jones
- Hon.R.N.A. Hankey
- Mr. E.A. Armstrong

SECRET CIPHER TELEGRAM

Ritwik p.

158968

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5824/87/31

From :- G.O.C. Palestine and Transjordan. 3 0 SEP 1843

To:- The War Office. Recd. 1835 27 Sep 43.

Indoneof

IMMEDIATE.

I/715 cipher 27 Sep.

To Snuffbox London.

Arms case.

Rachlin and Sirkin both found guilty and sentenced. Rachlin seven years Sirkin ten years subject to confirmation by GOC. T.O.O.1145C.

C.6.(Tels).

To:- M.I.2 (for action)

Copies to: - S. of S. M.O.1,5.
C.I.G.S. D.M.I.
V.C.I.G.S. D.D.M.I.(I)(S).
D.C.I.G.S. M.I.2,2a,5,17.
A.G. D.C.I.G.S.(Co-ord.)
D.A.G.(A). A.G.3.
D.M.O. D.P.S.
D.D.M.O.(O). Brig. A.G.Co-ord.
Foreign Office (Mr. Cavendish Bentinck).
D.N.I. (Admiralty).
A.C.A.S.I. (Air Ministry).
Col. Vickers (M.E.W.)
Sec. J.I.C. (2).
Colonial Office (Lt. Col. Rolleston).
Foreign Office (Mr. Hankey).

371/3503

erence:-

SECRET CIPHER TELEGRAM

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Pallene 9'

From: - C. -in-C. Middle East

To: - The War Office

Recd. 1730 28 Sep. 143

5317 cipher 28 Sep.

For D.M. 1 from PICME.

Arms trial. Rachlin and Sirkin both found guilty and sentenced seven years and ten years respectively. Subject to confirmation by GOC. Trial of third Jew Sacherov still to come.

T.O.O. Nil

C. 6. Telegrams

To:- M.I.2 (for action)

Copies to:- S. of S. D.A.G.(A). D.D.M.I.(I)(S). C.I.G.S. D.M.O. M.I.2,2a,5,17. V.C.I.G.S. D.D.M.O.(O). D.C.I.G.S.(Co-ord.) A.G. D.M.I. D.P.S. Brig.A.G.Co-ord.

Foreign Office (Mr. Cavendish Bentinck)
D.N.I. (Admiralty).
A.C.A.S.(I) (Air Ministry).
Col. Vickers (M.E.W.)
Sec. J.I.C. (2)
Colonial Office (Lt. Col. Rolleston)
Foreign Office (Mr. Hankey).

FO 371/3503

eference:-

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THIS MESSAGE WILL NOT BE DISTRIBUTED OUTSIDE BRITISH OR U.S. GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS OR HEADQUARTERS OR RE-TRANSMITTED EVEN IN CIPHER WITHOUT BEING PARAPHRASED.

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C.6. (Tels).

To:- M.I.2 (for action)

M.O.1,5.
D.M.I.
D.D.M.I.(I)(S).
M.I.2,22,5,17.
D.C.I.G.S.(Co-ord.) Copies to: - S. of S. C.I.G.S. V.C.I.G.S. D.C.I.G.S. D. A. G. (A). D.D.M.O.(O). Brig. A.G.Co-ord. D.D.M.U.(U). Brig. A.G.Co-ord.
Foreign Office (Mr. Cavendish Bentinck).
D.N.I. (Admiralty).
A.C.A.S.I. (Air Ministry).
Col. Vickers (M.E.W.)
Sec. J.I.C. (2).
Colonial Office (Lt. Col. Rolleston).
Foreign Office (Mr. Hankey).

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MOST SECRET
CIPHER TELEGRAM

= 3824 87 31.

This Message will not be distributed outside British or U.S. Government departments or Headquarters or re-transmitted even in cipher without being paraphrased.

From: The War Office.

Desp. 0600 3 oct.43.

To: C.-in-C. M.E.

Rptd. G.O.C. Palestine.

...75136.....Cipher (M.I.2.) 2 Sep

INDEXED

For PICLE from M. I. 2.

Re Palestine arms trial we wish to know.

- (a) quantities dates and places of other large thefts.
- (b) how far their perpetrators have been traced.
- (c) outline of case against Sacherov
- (d) why Morgan and Heyday have not been charged.
- (e) what evidence there is definitely implicating the Jewish Agency.

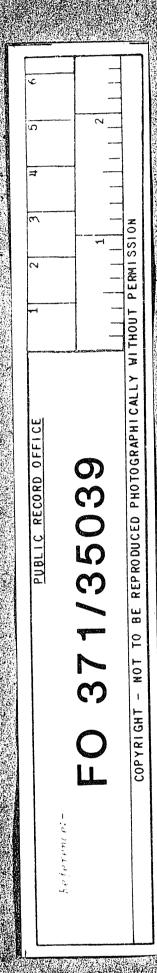
C. 6. Tels.

T.O.O. 1045A/2

Distribution:-

S. of S.	D. A. G. (A).	D. D. M. I. (I), (S).
C. I. G. S.	D. W. O.	M. I. 2, 2a, 5, 17, 11.
V. C. I. G. S.	D. D. M. O. (O).	D. C. I. G. S. (Co-ord)
D. C. I. G. S.	M, O. 1, 5.	A, G. 3.
A. G.	D. M. I.	D. P. S.
		Brig. A.G. Co-ord.
- 30 000-	1250 Campudial Dantin	nlr)

Foreign Office (Mr. Cavendish Bentinck). Colonial Office (Lt.-Col. Rolleston) Foreign Office (Mr. Hankey).



MOST SECRET
CIPHER TELEGRAM

12

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C. 6. Tels.

T.O.O. 1045A/2

Distribution:-

S. of S. D.A.G.(A).
C.I.G.S. D.M.O.
V.C.I.G.S. D.D.M.O.(O).
D.C.I.G.S. M.O.1, 5.
A.G. D.M.I.

D.D.M.I.(I), (S).
M.I.2,2a,5,17,11.
D.C.I.G.S. (Co-ord)
A.G.3.
D.P.S.
Brig. A.G. Co-ord.

Foreign Office (Mr. Cavendish Bentinck). Colonial Office (Lt.-Col. Rolleston) Foreign Office (Mr. Hankey).

and A: PALESTINE & TRANSJORDAN Palestine Arms Trial. Refers to Washington No. 4250 (E 5702/87/31) of Registry $\}$ E 5826/87/31. Number $\}$ 22nd September. Transmits copy of letter from Rabbi Wise to Sir Ronald Campbell enclosing an Aide FROM Sir Ronald Memoire submitted on behalf of the American Emergency Campbell (Washington) Committee for Zionist Affairs. The letter asks for a deferment of the meeting between the Delegation and No. 794. Sir Ronald Campbell until after conclusion of trials. Dated 22nd Sept.1943. Received 30th Sept. in Registry 1943. PHOTOGRAPHICALLY WITHOUT PERMISSION E: Palestine and Transjordan. (Minutes.) Last Paper. Su E5702. The Washington Embassy are E5814. in a position to reply to most of this and we References. must I think have it to them to judge total 371/35039 how they should oppy in detail. But we must have a reply from CO, to by letter in E5702. Since their S/S left, they (Print.)ntre into an embarrassed o apprehensive (How disposed of.) silener on every topic, - Hopelus people! 〇 山 BU OUT TO MAH. 2 Hankely: 10. The Co. have beligraphed to Varantem to find out what he but the there is in the allegation that consequently were invited to (Index.) (Action completed.) Q Next Paper. E5625 23238 12 41 F.O.P.

No. 794 ~

Charge a'Affaires

HIS Majesty's Amhresador at Washington presents his compliments to His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Foreign Office, and has the honour to transmit to him the under-mentioned documents.

BRITISH EMBASSY,

WASHINGTON.

E 5826 80381943

September 22nd

19.43

Reference to previous correspondence:

Washington telegram of 22nd September

DESCRIPTION OF ENCLOSURE.

Name and Date.

Subject.

Copy of letter from Rabbi Stephen S. Wise to Sir Ronald Campbell dated 16th September enclosing Aide Memoire

Palestine trials

(475/458) Wt36536/2768/60158 5000 3/37 FHD **Gp683**

PUBLIC RECORD

0 371/35039

REPRODUCED PHOTOGRAPHICALLY WITHOUT

Reference:-



COPY

American Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs.
41 East 42nd Street,
Room 1121
New York City.

September 16th, 1943.

Sir Ronald Campbell,
Minister to the British Embassy,
British Embassy,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir Ronald,

As was indicated to your secretary on the telephone yesterday, we felt that pending the conclusion of the second arms trial in Palestine, now, I believe, in its third week, it would be as well for the time being to hold over the arrangement for a Delegation to call on you.

Should it thereafter appear desirable to review the matter as a whole, I hope that we may ask you for another appointment.

I take this opportunity to enclose for your information the aide memoire which was to have been submitted by the Delegation, and which contains an expression of our views with reference to the procedure adopted in the first trial.

Very sincerely yours.

Stephen S. Wise.

AIDE MEMOIRE

submitted on behalf of the American Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs September 16, 1943.

The American Jewish public has been deeply stirred by the reports, prominently featured in the American press, of the recent trial in Palestine of two British soldiers charged with illegal possession of arms. Had this been an ordinary judicial proceeding, and conducted as such, no problem would have arisen. Certainly we would be the last to wish to intervene in any way whatsoever with the due process of the courts in Palestine and the proper execution of justice.

It is unhappily clear, however, both from the character of the statement of defending counsel and from surrounding circumstances, that it was sought by these proceedings to do far more than to bring to justice persons engaged in a criminal enterprise. What should have been a routine judicial procedure was in fact converted by the defense into a propaganda forum for an attack on the Jewish leadership and war effort in Palestine.

A first indication of this was the action taken to give maximum publicity abroad to the proceedings by specially inviting American correspondents in Cairo to come to Jerusalem for the trial. Trials for possession of arms have not been uncommon in Palestine; of recent months there have been many such in which Arabs were implicated; in no instance was an effort made, as it obviously was in this case, to focus international attention on the proceedings, and that on the basis of far-reaching insinuations, unsupported by direct evidence, against a whole people and its leadership.

The trial involved merely the sentencing of two British soldiers who had pleaded guilty to illegal traffic in arms, and who appear, despite the efforts of their counsel, Major Verdin, to portray them as innocent persons "lacking knowledge of the world and of money," to have had an unsavoury record of forgery, theft and desertion. Major Verdin seized the occasion, however, to offer offensive charges against the Jewish people in Palestine, to discredit their war effort, and to make monstrous allegations that the Jewish Agency for Palestine was working against the interests of the United Nations. In the course of a speech which appears to have been largely irrelevant to the point at issue, Major Verdin said inter alia:

- (a) That Jewish soldiers acted in a manner worthy of praise when the enemy was near the borders of Palestine and when the shadow of concentration camps like Dachau was at hand, but became interested in other affairs when danger left Palestine; they then began to act in a manner prejudicial to the cause of the United Nations.
- (b) That there were many indications to prove the connection of the vast organization which was directing the gun-running activity, and the

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Jewish Agency. It was necessary to broadcast this fact to the Allied nations who may find it necessary to revise their policy toward the Jews.

(c) That the accused should be made world famous because they had helped to detect interesting facts about the attitude of the Jews towards the war effort which might affect government policy.

Not a shred of evidence was given in support of these purely political allegations. The character of the charges and the manner in which it was sought to given them publicity in this country indicate that they were intended for no other purpose than to infect Anglo-American opinion against the Jews and their rightful claims with respect to Palestine.

Major Verdin sought to give colour to his allegation that the Jewish Agency was involved by stating that during the preliminary investigations the accused had picked out the photograph of Mr. David Ben-Gurion, Chairman of the Executive of the Jewish Agency for Palestine and the leader of Palestinian Jewry, as a person seen by them in company with one of the alleged arms purchasing gang in a Haifa cafe. The Jewish Agency for Palestine and Mr. Ben-Gurion were, of course, not party to the court proceedings and had no opportunity of answering these allegations in court. Mr. Ben-Gurion has since addressed the defending counsel's superior officer and called for an independent enquiry.

"I am advised", stated Mr. Ben-Gurion, "that there is no certain legal remedy against this slanderous attack, as the officer may claim privilege by reason of his function... As a representative of the Jewish people which was maliciously attacked and as a person who was directly insulted, I desire to declare that Major Verdin acted in this matter without any regard for truth or decency... I challenge him to substantiate his allegations before any independent board of inquiry, where I may be able to face him on equal terms."

It may be suggested that undue importance should not be attached to the irrelevant statements of an individual but the impression remains that the charges could hardly have been made without the acquiescence of the authorities in Palestine. In the circumstances responsibility would seem to rest squarely with the Colonial Office and the opportunity should be taken without delay to disown Major Verdin's statements.

The widely publicized charges made by the counsel for the defense against the Jewish people are too grave to be allowed to pass in silence. The Jews of Palestine number a mere half a million; but their dead are scattered on the battlefields of Greece and Syria, of Ethiopia, Libya and Egypt. Of their kinsmen in Europe more than four million have perished at the hands of the Nazis. Yet at such a time an official in Palestine has been permitted to cast doubt upon their loyalty to the cause of the United Nations and the sacrifices they have made towards it, and his allegations have been broadcast throughout the world.

We share the deep indignation which these incidents have aroused in the Jewish community of Palestine. This wanton injury to its pride and honor is the work of a handful of men unworthy of the great country they represent. In urging that steps be taken to remedy the harm done and to prevent the repetition of such a procedure in the future, we do so in the confident belief that we shall not in vain invoke British traditions of justice and fair play.

No. 79

Charge C'Affaires

HIS Majesty's Ambassador at Washington presents his compliments to His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Foreign Office, and has the honour to transmit to him the under-mentioned documents.

BRITISH EMBASSY,

WASHINGTON.

September 22nd , 1945

Reference to previous correspondence:

Washington telegram of 22nd September

DESCRIPTION OF ENCLOSURE.

Copy of letter from Rabbi
Stephen S. Wiss to Sir
Ronald Campbell deted
16th September enclosing
Aide Memoire

Palestine trials

(475/458) Wt36536/2768/80168 5000 3/37 FHD Gp683.

COFY

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41 East 42nd Street,
Room 1121
New York City.

September 16th, 1943.

Sir Ronald Campbell, Minister to the British Embassy, British Embassy, Washington, D.C.

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Very sincerely yours.

Stephen S. Wise.

EO 37 1/35039

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submitted on behalf of the

American Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs

AIDE MEMOIRE

September 16, 1943.

The American Jewish public has been deeply stirred by the reports, prominently featured in the American press, of the recent trial in Palestine of two British soldiers charged with illegal possession of arms. Had this been an ordinary judicial proceeding, and conducted as such, no problem would have arisen. Certainly we would be the last to wish to intervene in any way whatsoever with the due process of the courts in Palestine and the proper execution of justice.

It is unhappily clear, however, both from the character of the statement of defending counsel and from surrounding circumstances, that it was sought by these proceedings to do far more than to bring to justice persons engaged in a criminal enterprise. What should have been a routine judicial procedure was in fact converted by the defense into a propaganda forum for an attack on the Jewish leadership and war effort in Palestine.

A first indication of this was the action taken to give maximum publicity abroad to the proceedings by specially inviting American correspondents in Cairo to come to Jerusalem for the trial. Trials for possession of arms have not been uncommon in Palestine; of recent months there have been many such in which Arabs were implicated; in no instance was an effort made, as it obviously was in this case, to focus international attention on the proceedings, and that on the basis of far-reaching insinuations, unsupported by direct evidence, against a whole people and its leadership.

The trial involved merely the sentencing of two British soldiers who had pleaded guilty to illegal traffic in arms, and who appear, despite the efforts of their counsel, Major Verdin, to portray them as innocent persons "lacking knowledge of the world and of money," to have had an unsavoury record of forgery, theft and desertion. Major Verdin seized the occasion, however, to offer offensive charges against the Jewish people in Palestine, to discredit their war effort, and to make monstrous allegations that the Jewish Agency for Palestine was working against the interests Of the United Nations. In the course of a speech which appear to have been largely irrelevant to the point at issue, Major Verdin said inter alia:

- (a) That Jewish soldiers acted in a manner worthy of praise when the enemy was near the borders of Palestine and when the shadow of concentration camps like Dachau was at hand, but became interested in other affairs when danger left Palestine; they then began to act in a manner prejudicial to the cause of the United Nations.
- (b) That there were many indications to prove the connection of the vast organization which was directing the gun-running activity, and the

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Jewish Agency. It was necessary to broadcast this fact to the Allied nations who may find it necessary to revise their policy toward the Jews.

c) That the accused should be made world famous because they had helped to detect interesting facts about the attitude of the Jews towards the war effort which might affect government policy.

Not a shred of evidence was given in support of these purely political allegations. The character of the charges and the manner in which it was sought to given them publicity in this country indicate that they were intended for no other purpose than to infect Anglo-American opinion against the Jews and their rightful claims with respect to Palestine.

Major Verdin sought to give colour to his allegation that the Jewish Agency was involved by stating that during the preliminary investigations the secused had picked out the photograph of Mr. David Ben-Gurien, Chairman of the Executive of the Jewish Agency for Palestine and the leader of Palestinian Jewry, as a person seen by them in company with one of the alleged arms purchasing gang in a Haifa case. The Jewish Agency for Palestine and Mr. Ben-Gurion were, of course, not party to the court proceedings and had no opportunity of answering these allegations in court. Mr. Ben-Gurion has since addressed the defending counsel's superior officer and called for an independent enquiry.

"I am advised", stated Mr. Ben-Gurion, "that there is no certain legal remedy against this slanderous attack, as the officer may claim privilege by reason of his function... As a representative of the Jewish people which was maliciously attacked and as a person who was directly insulted, I desire to declare that Major Verdin acted in this matter without any regard for truth or decency... I challenge him to substantiate his allegations before any independent board of inquiry, where I may be able to face him on equal terms."

It may be suggested that undue importance should not be attached to the irrelevant statements of an individual but the impression remains that the charges could hardly have been made without the acquiescence of the authorities in Palestine. In the circumstances responsibility would seem to rest squarely with the Colonial Office and the opportunity should be taken without delay to disown Major Verdin's statements.

The widely publicized charges made by the counsel for the defense against the Jewish people are too grave to be allowed to pass in silence. The Jews of Palestine number a mere half a million; but their dead are scattered on the battlefields of Greece and Syria. of Ethiopia, Libya and Egypt. Of their kinsmen in Europe more than four million have periehed at the hands of the Nazis. Yet at such a time an official in Palestine has been permitted to cast doubt upon their loyalty to the cause of the United Nations and the sacrifices they have made towards it, and his allegations have been broadcast throughout the world.

We share the deep indignation which these incidents have aroused in the Jewish community of Palestine. This wanton injury to its pride and honor is the work of a handful of men unworthy of the great country they represent. In urging that steps be taken to remedy the harm done and to prevent the repetition of such a procedure in the future, we do so in the confident belief that we shall not in vain invoke British traditions of justice and fair play.

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OF THE SERVICE SERVICE

M. Eyecs.

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FOREIGN OFFICE, S.W.1.

3rd October, 1943.

Dear Boyd,

I enclose herewith two copies of a despatch No. 794 from Washington, enclosing a letter from Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, regarding the arms trial in Palestine.

You will remember that I wrote to you on September 27th asking for the correct reply to one or two points raised in Washington telegram No. 4250. I shall be very grateful if you could let us have an answer on the points in my letter as soon as possible Our Embassy in Washington are able to reply to the other points raised by Dr. Wise as the result of previous information which we have sent them.

Please rely to Baxter as I shall be away next week.

(SIGNED) R.L.A. HANGEY.

E.B. Boyd, Esq., C.M.G., C.V.O., Colonial Office.

50 SEP 1943 1943 PALESTINE & TRANSJORDAN. Immigration into Palestine. Registry E 5825/87/31 Copy of Palestine telegram No. 1177 of 22nd September, repeated Minister of State No. 161, FROMColonial Office suggesting that before any notification is made to communicated) the Jewish Agency, any pledge of automatic extension of immigration certificates should be avoided. Also No.75113/43 copy of Colonial Office telegram No. 1099 of 27th September in reply, requesting an estimate of the Dated potential commitments in respect of outstanding Received30th Sept., authorisation under earlier quotas. in Registry 1943. Copied Major Dewhurst (War Office) and Mr. Armstrong (War Cabinet Offices). Palestine and Transjordan (Minutes.) Last Paper. Refused Dept. 10 E5826 References. Sec within copy of tel to Palestine

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INWARD TELEGRAM

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Cypher

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FROM PALESTINE (Sir H. MacMichael)

TO S. OF S., CCLONIES.

D. 22nd September, 1943.

R. 23rd

05.30 hrs.

No. 1177 Secret.

Addressed to S. of S. Repeated to the Minister of State, Cairo, Mo. 16

Your secret telegram No. 1047.

Following for the Dake of Devenships

I am most anxious that the following factor should be taken into account before any notification this subject is made to the Jewish Agency.

Up to the addie of 1940, imagration certificates lapsed automatically if not utilined with an period of few months after the expiration of the quotperiod in respect of which they were granted. After the entry of Italy into the war, when travel became increasingly difficult, the C.M.S., considering a strict adverence to this practice to be unjustifiable on humanitarian grounds, periodically extended the validity of all certificates so that this Government would not debar granting permission to enter Palestine to various persons and groups of persons, as seemed desirable. It is apparent that a very large proportion of unused authorities cannot now be related to any specified person or category - particularly the 12,500 allocation for the Balkan Children Refugee Scheme, the 500 children from hungary and Rumania and the 4,000 children and 500 adults from Bulgaria.

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by this Government automatically to extend validity: extensions were granted ad hoc after periodic review and for specified term. I consider it as important that you should avoid any pledge of automatic extension, suggesting as it does a legal obligation. This will leave the Government free to admit persons or groups of persons as circumstances at any time warrant, and at the same time, will not prejudice the chances of any Jews who have claims to admission to Palestine.

Copies sent to:Foreign Office

War Office (M.I.2a)

War Cabinet Offices-

Mr.C.W. Baxter.
Mr.A.W.G.Randall.
Mr. N.M. Butler
Major C.H. Dewhurst.
Mr. E.A. Armstrong.

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War Gabinet Offices- Mr. E.A. Armstrong.

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OUTWARD TELEGRAM

75113/43

Cypher (O.T.P.)

TO PALESTINE (Sir H. MacMichael)

FROM S. OF S., COLONIES.

Sent 27th September, 1943. 18.00 hrs.

No. 1099 Secret.

Your telegrams No. 1166 and No. 1177.

Immigration quota.

Jewish Agency have been informed by letter to Mamier of details of immigration quota and have been told, as regards extension of validity of certificates granted in earlier quotas, that, after consultation with you, it has been decided to continue for the present the arrangements which have hitherto applied.

I shall be grateful if you would furnish me with an estimate of the potential commitments in respect of outstanding authorisations under earlier quotas, referred to in paregraph 3 of your telegrem No. 1031.

Br. C.W. Bexter.

Mr. A.W.G. Dendell.

Mr. N.M. Butler.

Major C.H. Dowhurst.

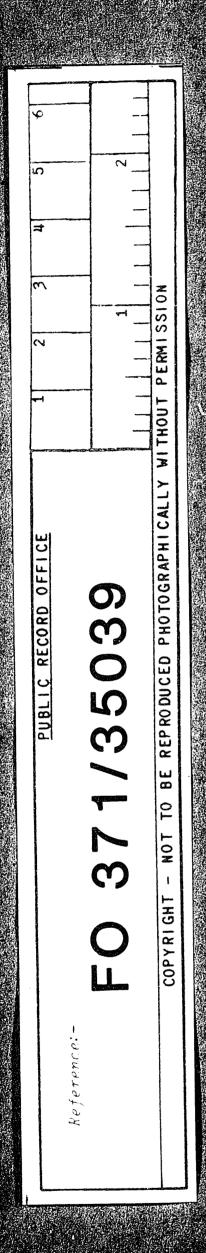
Mr. E.A. Aimstrong.

CONTRACTOR CONTRACTOR

Porelan Orclos

War Office (M.I.2a)

War Cabinet Offices



OUTWARD TELEGRAM 75118/48 Cypher (O.T.P.) TO PALESTINE (Sir H. MacMichael) FROM S. OF S. COLONIES. Sent 27th September, 1945. 18.00 hrs. I have Ratestan Mark line is the originary granted by No. 1099 Secret. Your telegrams No. 1166 and No. 1177. They was about the Immigration quota. Jewish Agency have been informed by letter to Namier of details of immigration quota and have been told, as regards extension of validity of certificates granted in earlier quotas, that, after consultation with you, it has been decided to continue for the present the arrangements which have hitherto applied. I shall be grateful if you would furnish me with an estimate of the potential commitments in respect of outstanding authorisations under earlier quotas, referred to in paragraph 3 of your telegram No. 1031. CONTES BOIL TO:

Mr. C.W. Beater.

Mr. N.M. Butler.

Mr. A.W.G. Randall.

Major C.H. Dewhurst.

Mr. E.A. Armstrong.

Foreign Office

War Office (M.I.2a).

War Cebinet Offices

INWARD TELEGRAM

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Cypher

FROM PALESTINE (Str H. MacMichael)

TO S. OF S., COLONIES.

- D. 22nd September, 1943.
- R. 23rd " 05.30 hrs.

No. 1177 Secret.

Addressed to S. of S. Repeated to the Minister of State, Cairo, No. 161.

Your secret telegram No. 1047.

Following for the Duke of Devonshire. Begins.

I am most anxious that the following facta should be taken into account before any notification of this subject is made to the Jewish Agency.

Up to the middle of 1940, immigration certificates lapsed automatically if not utilises willing period of few months after the expiration of the queto. period in respect of which they were granted. After the entry of Italy into the war, when travel became increasingly difficult, the C.M.S., considering a strict adherence to this practice to be unjustifiable on humanitarian grounds, periodically extended the validity of all certificates so that this Government would not debar granting permission to enter Palestine to various persons and groups of persons, as seemed desirable. is apparent that a very large proportion of unused authorities cannot now be related to any specified person or category - particularly the 12,500 allocation for the Balkan Children Refugee Scheme, the 500 children from hungary and Rumania and the 4,000 children and 500 adults from Bulgaria.

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Copies sent to:Foreign Office - Mr.J.W. Haxter.
Mr.A.W.J.Randall.
Mr. N.M. Butler
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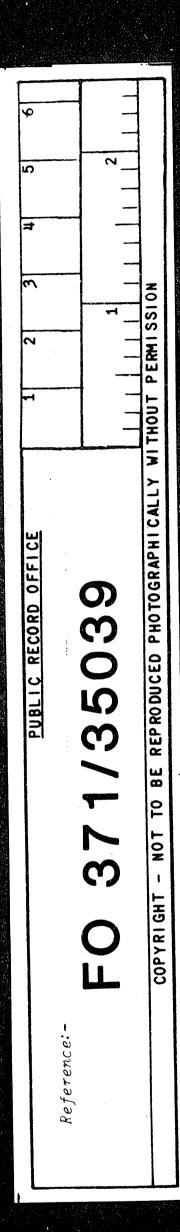
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War Office (M.I.2a) War Cabinet Offices-

Mr.C.W. Baxter. Mr.A.W.G.Randall. Mr. N.M. Butler Major C.H. Dewhurst. Mr. E.A. Armstrong.

TO BE REPRODUCED PHOTOGRAPHICALLY 35039 (7)

molesced. COPY. INWARD TELEGRAM. CYPHER (O.T.P.) FROM PALESTINE (Sir H. MacMichael) TO S. OF S., COLONIES. 02.55 hrs. No.1053 Secret. Your telegram No. 844. Immigration Ordinance. I do not now propose to proceed with amendment of rules in the sense proposed. Amendment was chiefly designed to facilitate grant of immigration certificates to Jews already in Palestine and this would be inconsistent with the principle outlined in paragraph 5 of my telegram No.1031. Gelonial Office Reference No. 75113/4/43 With the compliments of the U.S. of S. Colonial Office Contracto lel 6. letter of 3.8.43. above 40.

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OUTWARD TELEGRAM.

75113/4/43

Indexeed.

Cypher (O.T.P.)

TO PALESTINE (Sir H. MacMichael)

FROM S. OF S., COLONIES.

Sent 29th September, 1943.14.45 hrs.

No.1112 Secret.

Your telegram No.1053.

Immigration Ordinance.

Inhope that in the light of subsequent telegraphic correspondence ending with my telegram No.1099, you will now be prepared to proceed with the amendment of rules indicated in your secret despatch of the 7th June. I have already received enquiries from the Agency here as to the position in regard to this proposed amendment.

COPY.

INWARD TELEGRAM.

CYPHER (O.T.P.)

Indexel

FROM PALESTINE (Sir H. MacMichael)

TO S. OF S., COLONIES.

D. 24th November, 1943.

R. 24th " " 17.15 hrs.

No.1499 Secret.

Your telegram No.1112.

Immigration ordinance.

Rules transmitted under cover of my secret despatch of 7th June, 1943, have now been made and will be published in the Gazette on 25th November.

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INWARD TELEGRAM.

CYPHER (O.T.P.)

FROM PALESTINE (Sir H. MacMichael)

TO S. OF S., COLONIES.

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OUTWARD TELEGRAM.

75113/4/43

Cypher (O.T.P.)

TO PALESTINE (Sir H. MacMichael)

FROM S. OF S., COLONIES.

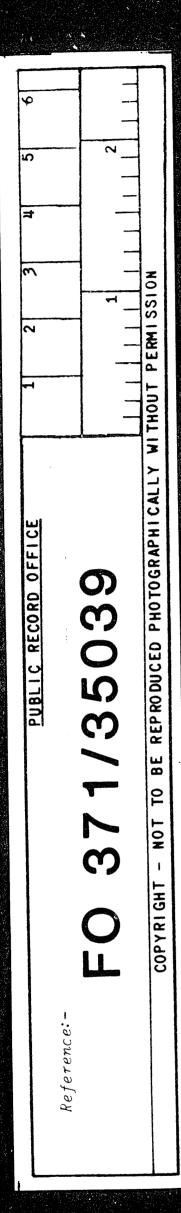
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TO S. OF S., COLONIES.

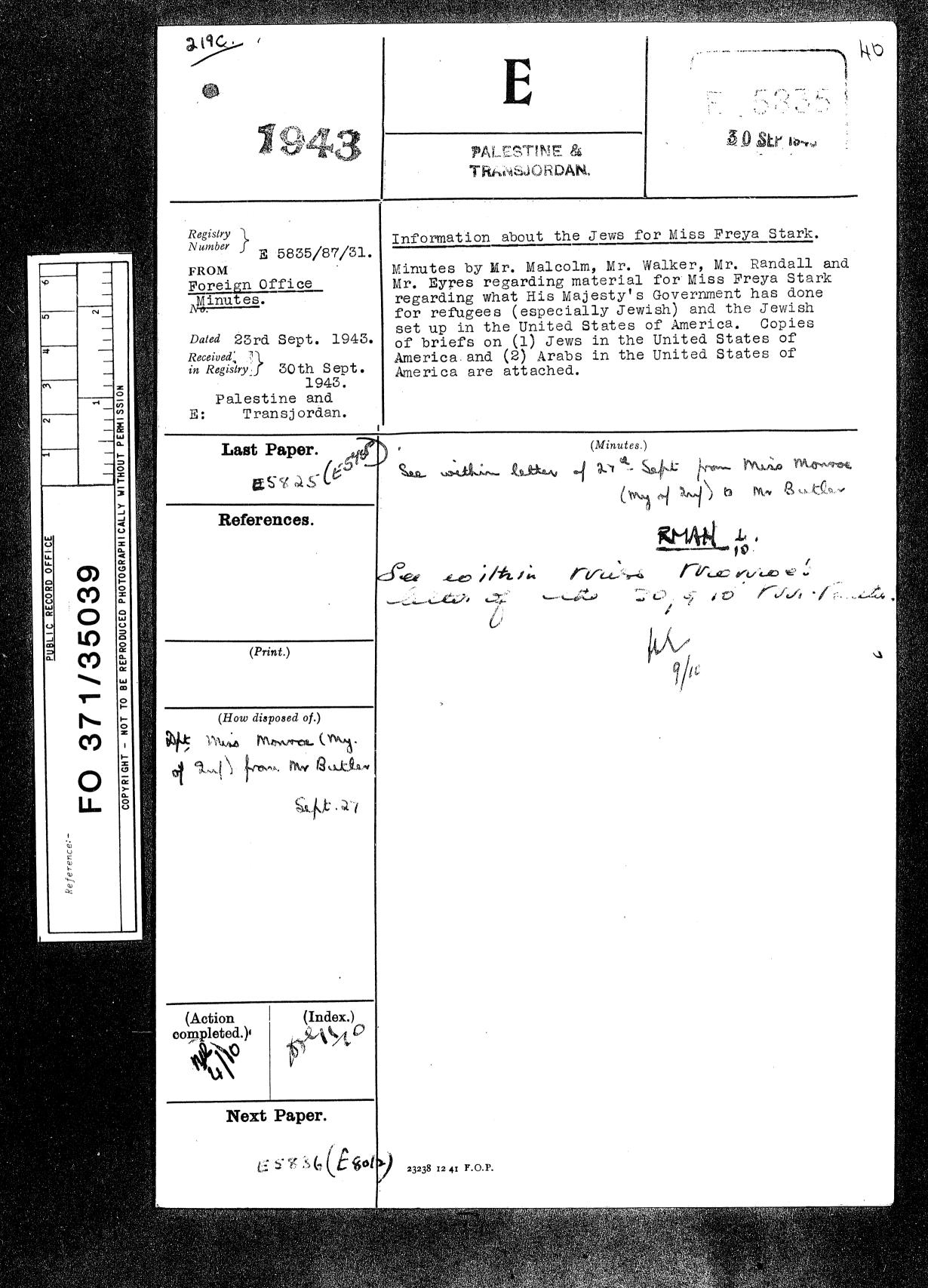
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brief, or in any case, or basis for one. We do not however want to draw a destuction between Jewish & non-Jewish refugus, 27 am also commend that the less This Stock says about what we have done for the Jew, the better, whatever the we put her up & say in the States, the American Jews are Certain 5 be mile & 5 belitte our efforts. he should however consult (.o. over this (x so show Miss. Stark) a Lasten degst, sko hare

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The official statistics of United States Jewish population gives its number as a little under 5,000.000. If we include all the Jews and semi-Jews not registered as such in the census of religions the number is probably somewhat over 6,000,000. They inhabit mainly the East Coast. Nearly 2,000,000 live in New York, over half a million are to be found in the industrial cities of the Middle East, slightly under that number in the South, the rest are scattered over the entire country, principally along the Eastern seaboard.

Deposit to Break Marie Frage Conference

The chief form of organisation is communal and not political or religious. They do not, contrary to general supposition, possess much wealth and the number of millionaires is proportionately much smaller than that among the Protestants. Like the Catholics, the bulk of the Jewish community is middle or lower middle class in composition.

Jewish labour, which is mainly concentrated in New York, claims about 250,000 persons; the rest are either mostly in business or in the liberal professions.

There is a good deal of homogeneity about the general political view of the Jews, i.e. with notable exceptions (e.g. the small groups of wealthy men who support the Republicans, and the 20,000 or so communists) they support Roosevelt and his policies.

Leadership of the community is divided between the Zionists led by Rabbi Wise and his henchmen, and the non or anti-Zionists headed by the American-Jewish Committee. All other bodies show definite leanings in one or the other direction. The number of official Zionists is not great a trifle over 100,000 if that - but it would be true to say that the majority of the U.S. Jewish population has strong sympathies with the Zionist spirit in Palestine, and while showing no inclination to immigration to that country, is sentimentally attached to the thought of a progressive, model, Jewish democracy in Palestine (as it imagines it to be) so that the Zionists find ready response both in sentiment and financial aid. The increase of anti-Semitism in the United States, which is very noticeable, has strengthened this feeling of vague emotional nationalism which is deplored by the assimilationists who would like to see the Jews thoroughly absorbed in the American community and free from the pull of events in Europe or Palestine. This potential Pro-Zionist force is somewhat difficult to estimate. Experience shows that any move regarded as inimical to Zionist aspirations in Palestine, e.g. the British White Paper of 1939, produces a strong revulsion of feeling in the United States Jewish community which is kept simmering by the United States Jewish press, both English and vernacular (Yiddish) which is practically 100% pro-Zionist. Such criticism of Britain has naturally been exploited by groups which worked against British interests at various times, e.g. isolationists, communists, New Deal anti-imperialists. The average unpolitical American Jew finds himself in the embarrassing position of being egged on to criticism of British policy at the same time as feeling that this is unfair in view of the exceptionally happy status enjoyed by the Jews in Britain. He usually finds the uneasy solution in praising the British at home while condemning British colonial policy.

/Against

Against this must be balanced the influence of the American Jewish Committee which on the whole is anti-Zionist and exists mainly for the purpose of combating anti-Semitism and general charitable and eleemosynary purposes. It consists of the most respected and prosperous members of the community, is pro-British in outlook, resents the aggressive tactics of the Zionists which in its opinion cause division within the community and promotes a dangerous Jewish separatism, and itself works in close alliance with the American-Jewish Labour Committee which is anti-nationalist and anti-Zionist on vaguely socialist grounds. The influence of the A.J. Committee would be considerable if it chose to exert it but it is constitutionally timid and averse to publicity, and owing to its very purpose which is to conciliate, afraid of being dragged into controversy, which gives the Zionists an obvious advantage. The Committee is not democratically elected and while carrying much prestige in the Jewish community has no basis of support among the Jewish masses. It co-operates with the Zionists on such common topics as refugee problems, and supports immigration claims to Palestine in as much as Palestine affords a possible haven for the up-rooted Jews of Europe who are of concern to it and to the two bodies with which it works most closely, the Joint Distribution Committee which administers relief abroad, the National Refugee Service which principally looks after immigrants into the United States. Active and well-organised as the regular Zionists are, the "New Zionists" & Revisionists often appear to be making the running by their violently

Active and well-organised as the regular
Zionists are, the "New Zionists" & Revisionists often
appear to be making the running by their violently
aggressive tactics. These consist, in the main, of
fairly frequent full-page advertisements in leading
newspapers, and of frequent "mass" meetings in the big
cities. Extreme language is always used, extreme claims
put forward and elementary facts, if inconvenient, are
ignored. Opposition, or even mild dissent, from
Gentile quarters is denounced as "anti-Semitism", and from
Jew quarters as "appeasement". These are effective charges
nowadays.

The principal Revisionist bodies today are,

- (a) The Committee for a Jewish Army of Stateless and Palestinian Jews
- (b) The Emergency Committee for the Rescue of European Jews.

Both are well-surfaced with respectable Jewish and non-Jewish names.

The Rabbis follow the temper of their communities with the result that the minority which presides over the richer and more conservative congregations are anti-Zionist, while the vast majority are pro-Zionist in varying degrees.

There is a general leaning towards Russia modified in the cases of such Jewish labour leaders as Dubinsky by their strong anti-communism and lately by the executions of the Polish labour leaders Ehrlich and Alter, largely because Russia does not discriminate against Jews and offers the fiercest resistance to Nazism.

/ Broadly

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Broadly speaking it may be said that the Jews with German and Western European origin are antior non-Zionist, while the vast mass of immigrants
from Russia and Eastern and Central Europe and their
descendants, who occupy a socially lower position,
form the basis of Zionist support.

It is difficult to estimate how much political power is wielded by the Jewish community. The only district in which they function as an organised force is New York State where the Jewish vote was the make-weight which elected La Guardia Mayor of New York several times. Both the President and candidates for offices in New York State, and several other States where the Jewish vote counts, e.g. Pennsylvania, Illinois, California, and to a lesser extent Michigan and Ohio, normally go out of their way to secure the goodwill of the Jews. While the Anglo-Jewish press is negligible, the three leading dailies of New York State sway opinion considerably, in particular the liberal "Forward" which is a respected and moderate newspaper, as pro-British as reluctance not to go too far against Zionism will let it be. Jewish opinion is as ignorant and as fluid as American opinion in general, and the success of the propaganda of the Jewish Army Committee which uses the normal promotional tactics of United States pressure groups, demonstrates that it is both sentimental and gullible. In conclusion it may be assumed that while Jewish political pressure is not strong enough to influence decisions of the United States Government on central issues of United States policy e.g. immigration policy, it may well have some effect on policies, e.g. those that are concerned with Palestine on which the Jews hold strong views, while the rest of the Administration does not care much either way but other things being equal is anxious to secure Jewish support, and above all not to take sides in a racial issue the emergence of which all Americans and Administrationists dread.

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The Senate contains no Jews, the House of Representatives a handful. There are usually two or three Jewish Governors (at the moment only one, Greening of Alaska, since Horner of Illinois died recently and Lehman retired).

The most recent symptons of the working of Jewish influence in American politics are the continued benevolence to Zionism on the part of many members of Congress (this feeling is casual and mild but may be of consequence inasmuch as there are no serious countervailing pressures) and the adding to the discomforts of the State Department over the North African situation.

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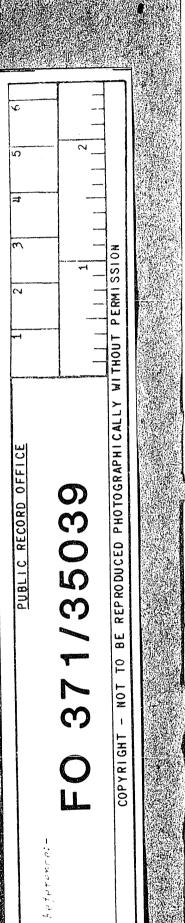
ARABS

The number of Americans of Arab origin in the United States is uncertain. There is no hard and fast distinction between persons of Arabic and general Levantine origin, so that while the number of the latter may amount to half a million, persons of more or less specifically Arabic race probably amount to about 200,000. The majority are Syrian and Lebanese Christians who are either Maronites or members of the Syrian Orthodox Church, the largest colonies being in Brooklyn (New York), New England, Detroit (Moslems), Cleveland, Oklahoma, and California (Los Angeles). There are some in Texas and North Carolina. They are most small merchants and artisans, although the Detroit Moslems also work in industrial plants. They are scattered and divided and of small importance in the American domestic scene. They are neither wealthy nor organised for internal political activities Their influence in their countries of origin is not inconsiderable, largely owing to the financial ssistance which they regularly send to their relatives in the Near and Middle East and to the prestige which attaches to them by virtue of their residence in the U.S.A. They are for the most part pro-British, anti-Italian, and to a much lesser degree anti-German. Like most other United States minorities they take great pride in their United States citizenship. The one unifying feeling is solid anti-Zionism. Many attempts have been made to form a single anti-Zionist United States-Arab organisation; these have failed hitherto owing to internal dissensions and the low calibre of the organisers, but these attempts may be successful yet. The Arab League which used to agitate against Britain for Arab independence no longer exists. The chief dividing issue is over the attitude to the French.

There a pear to be some eleven Arabic newspapers published in America of which eight are issued in New Yor., two in Detroit, and one in Boston (the last in English). A consistently pro-French policy seems to be pursued only by the Al Hoda whose publisher, Mokarzel is a Francophile Lebanese. Lebanese pro-French sentiment arises largely from fear of Moslem persecution in Syria and elsewhere. The only Mohammedan paper is Al Bayan of New York which occupies itself mainly with attacks on the French and the Zionists.

The American Arabs have produced virtually no outstanding leaders. The most distinguished Arab in the United States is Dr. Hitti, Professor of Arabic at Princeton University. At some distance from him comes the Syrian Orthodox Archbishop Antoni Bashir. The most political actively at present is Mr. Francis Kettaneh, a prosperous merchant said to be known to the Ministry of Economic Warfare. There is also an able Moslem New Dealer in the person of Dr. Rifaat Tirana, an Albanian originally of the Federal Reserve, now in the Board of Economic Warfare, who alone has

/ been



been able to present the Arab case against Zionism to individual, but rather junior, members of the United States Administration. Attempts are being made by the Iraqi Minister to coordinate some of these bodies in a common anti-Zionist front but this so far has met with very limited success owing to the fact that Arab societies are scattered and somewhat apathetic in character. Attempts have been made by Mr. Kettaneh and the Iran Minister to come to an understanding with such anti-Zionist Jews as Mr. Arthur Sulzberger, the publisher of the New York Times, and Rabbi Lazaron of Baltimore. The two latter have received these advances sympathetically but do not appear either sufficiently energetic or popular enough among the Jews to make any great difference in this troubled situation. The American Government is, of course, acutely anxious to prevent stirring up a racial controversy on any topic and therefore tries to stear clear of the Zionist issue so far as it can.

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Telephone No. EUSton 4321.

Telegram "MINIFORM, LONDON"

further communication on this subject
the following reference should be quoted:—

MINISTRY OF INFORMATION,

MALET STREET,

LONDON, W.C.1.

-AM - 60/15

Your reference:

September 27th, 1943.

Imasoèle.

INDEXED

Dear Mr Butler,

As arranged upon the telephone, I enclose, before you see Miss Stark this afternoon, a draft of the brief we would propose to give her for her visit to the United States.

It is a first draft only, and is still under consideration between our American and Middle East Divisions. Perhaps, therefore, you would let me know if you have any comments or suggestions to make.

Yours sincerely,

Ekzalester Monroe.

Director, Middle East .
Division.

PHO TO GRAPHICALLY 3 REPRODUCED **の** BE NOT 3 RIGHT

Praft brief regarding Miss Freya Stark's visit to the United States.

To: Miss Stark and Miniform Officers, New York, "ashington and Chicago. From: Directors, American and Middle East Divisions, M.C.I.

to see only the standpoint of persecuted Jewry and to point to Palestine as its only refuge. You are to pursue this objective by placing the Araba on the U.S. map and reminding the Americans of the importance and vigour of Arab claims to Western attention. You will endeavour to show the Araba as a vital and dynamic people who will make a showing in the post-war world. Since your reputation in the United States is markedly pro-Arab you should, subject to the advice of your colleagues on our staff in America, privately discuss the Palestinian problem with moderate Jews who see the weakness of Zionist extremism and are ready to consider/compromise solution.

In painting your picture of your own work you must avoid giving a handle to the Americans who argue that British doings in the Arab States are imperialism in a new guise. You should therefore invariably show the modern developments of the Arab dynamo as a spontaneous growth and should counter all suggestion that the British government is manipulating it. You should rank British encouragement of the side by side with the considerable stimulus which the receives from e.g. the American University of Beirut since 1263. Similarly, Miniform and British propaganda work should not be mentioned except as a companion organisation to the O.W. I. You should play up the importance both for British and Americans of cordial personal relation with the Arabs but for purely security reasons our methods of personal propaganda should not be disclosed.

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In stressing the importance of the Arab world, you are bound to be questioned upon one if not both the problems which endanger our relations with the Arab States to wit: Palestine, and the intentions of the French in Syria. You should avoid all possible political controversy and confine yourself as far as possible to a recital of fact. An appendix giving H.M.G's commitments in both cases is attached.

III. As to the means by which you put over these points; you have to

III. As to the means by which you put over these points:

We recognise that you wish to cut down public speaking to a bare minimum, as being a method less suited to putting your point across than is private conversation or addresses to small hand-picked groups of personal of influence. You should therefore confine your jubic speaking to what amount to travel talks, merely bringing in your political points by the way. You will begin your tour with the two public lectures in Chicago which are the estensible purpose of your visit, and will proceed from those westwards to Los Angeles and San Francisco, ending with a period in Washington, New York, and the Eastern States in the first two months of 1944.

Should you be imposted with undue numbers of invitations to speal publicly, you should refer to our local offices for advice; all will endeavour to cut down your public speaking to the minimum you desire.

თ ო /350 37 IV Summary of main groups of informed opinions:

- 1) Ziomists.
- 2) Non-Zionist Jews.
- 3) Persons sufficiently informed to know of the existence of the French problem a negligible group.

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NOTHING

Miss Munroe, Middle East Division, Ministry of Information.

(From Mr. Butler)

Septémber 27 . 1943.

Dear Miss Munroe,

Many thanks for your letter of September 27th enclosing the draft of the brief that your Ministry propose to give Miss Freya Stark for her tour in the United States. I agree with all the points in it and I tried to emphasise some of them in my conversation with her to-day.

I noted what you said to me about trying to/stick as far as possible to the official documents as regards our policy towards Palestine and Syria Lebanon. She asked whether it would not be a good plan for her to show a copy of the Defence of the two British soldiers in the recent trials in Palestine to handpicked and responsible Americans. I demurred, saying that the speech of the Counsel for the Defence was in its nature an ex-parte statement and was already a red rag to the Zionists

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in America: if she showed any paper in connexion with this trial it should be an objective presentation of certain ascertained facts. I suggested, however that she should discuss this and other points with Mr. Baxter, who she was going on to see I understand injoined on but he importance of not diving up a Zionist controvery.

Inturn humith Hankey: copy of the definite an amindum suggested on page I which I think you have not by the form already.

(Sqa.) Nevel Baller.

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OUTFILE

E5835/87/31

27th September, 1943.

Dear Miss Munroe,

Many thanks for your letter of September 27th enclosing the draft of the brief that your Ministry propose to give Miss Freya Stark for her tour in the United States. I agree with all the points in it and I tried to emphasise some of them in my conversation with her to-day.

I noted what you said to me about trying to get her to stick as far as possible to the official documents as regards our policy towards Palestine and Syria Lebanon. She asked whether it would not be a good plan for her to show a copy of the Defence of the two British soldiers in the recent trials in Palestine to handpicked and responsible Americans. I demurred, saying that the speech of the Counsel for the Defence was in its nature an ex-parte statement and was already a red rag to the Zionists in America: if she showed any paper in connexion with this trial it should be an objective presentation of certain ascertained facts. I suggested, however, that she should discuss this and other points with Mr. Baxter and Mr. Hankey, who, I understand, enjoined on her the importance of not stirring up a Zionist controversy.

I return herewith Mr. Hankey's copy of the draft with an amendment suggested on page 1 which I think you have received by telephone already.

Yours sincerely,

(Sgd.) NEVILE BUTLER.

Miss Elizabeth Monroe,
Middle East Division,
Ministry of Information.

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Eastar SH. M. M. Telepho o. EUSton 4321.
Telegram "MINIFORM, LONDON" MALET STREET, MINISTRY OF INFORMATION, In any furth communication on this subject the following reference should be quoted:-LONDON, W.d.1. AM/60/15 30th September, 1943.

Dear Mr. Butler,

5-835 87 31. Many thanks for your letter of September 27th and its enclosures which I am passing to Miss Stark. I will see that she also receives for her dossier, along with all statements of H.M.G's policy in regard to both Palestine and Syria in recent years, an objective presentation of the main facts emerging from the arms trial both of the soldiers and the civilians in Palestine.

Yours sincerely,

En Talostu Morroz.

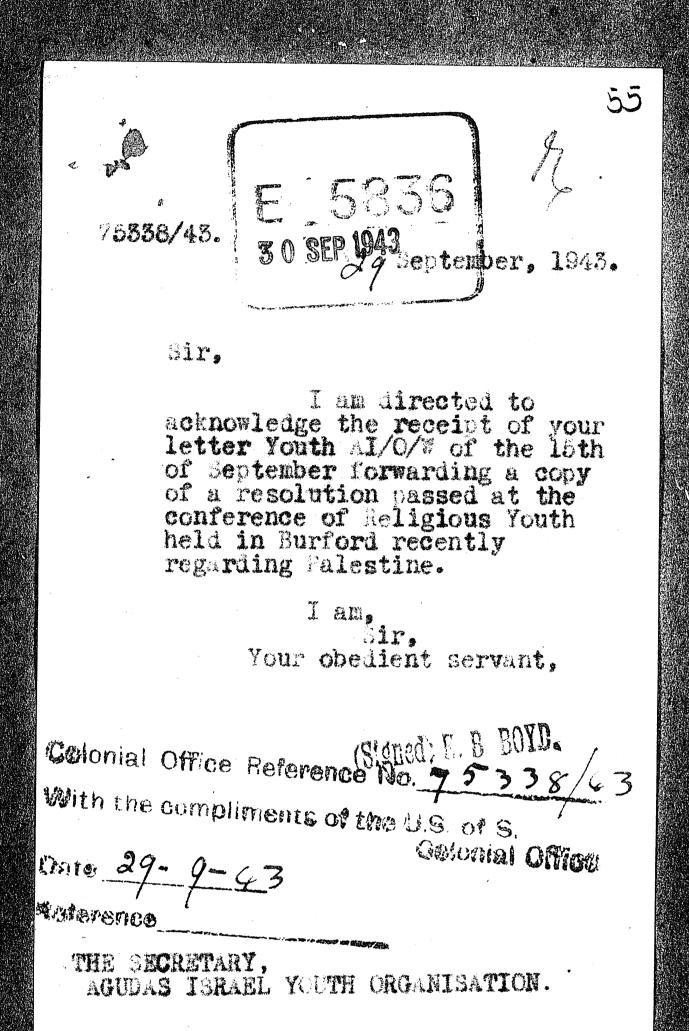
Director, Middle East Division.

Nevile Butler, Esq., C.M.G., C.V.O., Foreign Office, S.W.1.

220 54 1943 PALESTINE & 20 SED 1888 TRANSJONDAM. Conference of Religious Youth held in Burford regarding Palestine. Registry Number **E** 58**36/87/31** Transmits copy of letter dated 15th FROM Colonial Office September from the Agudas Israel Youth Organisation of Great Britain, enclosing copy of a resolution regarding Palestine passed at the conference of 75338/43 No.Religious Youth held in Palestine. Also transmits copy of Colonial Office letter of 29th September 29th Sept., Datedin reply. Received in Registry 30th Sept., 1943. REPRODUCED PHOTOGRAPHICALLY WITHOUT PERMISSION E: Palestine and Transjordan (Minutes.)Last Paper. Orthodox teurs (Agudos Israel).

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PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	FO 37 / 35038	COPYRIGHT - NOT TO BE REPRODUCED PHOTOGRAPHICALLY WITHOUT PERMISSION



Copy.

AGUDAS ISRAEL YOUTH ORGANISATION of Great Britain.

The Union of Universally Organised Independent Orthodox Jewry.

53, QUEENS DRIVE, LONDON, N.4.

YOUTH AI/0/W.

15th September, 1943.

The Secretary, The Palestine Department, Colonial Office, whitehall, S. W. 1.

Dear Bir,

I am instructed by my Committee to inform you of the resolutions regarding Palestine unanimously passed at the conference of Religious Youth held in Burford recently, and I have pleasure in enclosing copy thereof.

I shall be obliged if you will kindly pass this on to the Departments concerned.

I beg to remain, Yours truly,

(Sgd.)

SECRETARY.

Enclosure.

57

COUT.

ZEIREI AGUDAG IGRAEL COMPERENCE:

BURPOND 20-22 August 1948.

RESOLUTIONS:

THE DECLARATION OF BURFORD.

Jewish youth of this country, with the participation of orthodox Jewish youth leaders of the former continental Kehillet makes the following declaration.

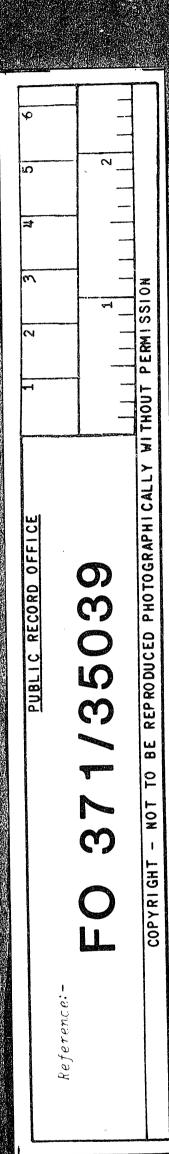
the sovereignty of the Forth in the life of the Jewish nation and the Jewish individuals can Israel be saved and aretz figreel be restored.

to the Jewish coople by almighty God; no power can separate the Jewish coople from its land, and no power can close the doors of the Holy Land to Jewish re-settlement. This conference, therefore, rejects the White Paper, and voices the fervent hope that at the cessation of hostilities people and land will be re-united beneath the sovereignty of the Torah.

This conference re-affirms the inseparable association of Torah, Land and Leople. It rejects therefore any attempt to establish any Jewish self-governing organ in the Moly Land unless based upon Torah and tradition. It declines to accept the BILTHORE PROGRAM of the Mionist organisation which would divorce Land from Torah and which attempts to impose upon the Jewish people and the Jewish land the domination of a single Jewish political party.

This conference demands that in any negotiations concerning the future of Eretz Yisroel the fullest consideration shall be given to the viewpoint of world wide orthodoxy represented within the agudas Israel, and that in the creation of any statutory body entrusted with the future development of the land full representation shall

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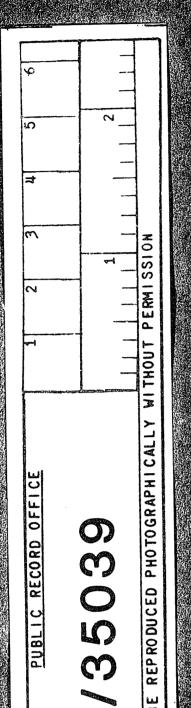
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be afforded to the Agudist Organisation.

This conference sends fraternal greetings and every possible support to the Rabbonim of Bretz Yisroel, to the Torah-true Kibbutzim and their workers, and to all who labour in the land of our Fathers for the sovereignty of God and Torah.

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75338/43.

29 September, 1943.

Sir,

acknowledge the receipt of your letter Youth AI/O/W of the 15th of September forwarding a copy of a resolution passed at the conference of Religious Youth held in Burford recently regarding Palestine.

I am,
Sir,
Your obedient servant,

(Signed) E. B. BOYD.

THE SECRETARY.
AGUDAS ISRAEL YOUTH ORGANISATION.

Cony.

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· FEE CO

AGUDAS ISRAEL YOUTH ORGANISATION of Great Britain.

The Union of Universally Organised Independent Orthodox Jewry.

55, UERNS DRIVE, LONDON, N.4.

YOUTH AI/O/W.

15th September, 1945.

The Secretary,
The Palestine Department,
Colonial Office,
Whitehall, S.W.1.

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(Sgd.)

SICRETARY.

Enclosure.

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Cony.

ZEIREI AGUDAS ISRAEL COMPERENCE:

BURFORD 20-22 August 1943.

RESCLUTTOMS:

THE DECLARATION OF BURFORD.

This conference, representing the organised othodox Jewish youth of this country, with the participation of orthodox Jewish youth leaders of the former continental Kehillet makes the following declaration.

We declare, that only through the recognition of the sovereignty of the Torah in the life of the Jewish nation and the Jewish individuals can Israel be saved and Bretz Tisroel be restored.

We declare, that the land of Israel was promised to the Jewish people by almighty God; no power can separate the Jewish people from its land, and no power can close the doors of the Holy Land to Jewish re-settlement. conference, therefore, rejects the White Paper, and voices the fervent hope that at the cessation of hostilities people and land will be re-united beneath the sovereignty of the forah.

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/35039

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This conference sends fraternal greetings and every possible support to the Rabbonim of Eretz Yisroel, to the Torah-true Kibbutzim and their workers, and to all who labour in the land of our Fathers for the sovereignty of God and Torah.

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E5853/300/9.31	Palestine Gendarmerie
75015/55/43	Cotel. 999 Points out difficulties to W.O
Dated: 28 Sept.	Duggestion Rat Gendanmerie should be operationally under military control but That responsibility for finance + administration should rest with Pallestine Good. Requests comments
Received:	That responsibility for finance + administration should rest with Pallestine Good. Requests comments
Last Paper.	(Minutes.)
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OUTWARD TELEGRAM

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TO PALESTINE (Sir H. MacHichael)

FROM S. OF S., COLONIES.

Sent 28th September, 1943. 18:40 hrs.

IMPORTANT. No. 1103 MOST SECRET.

Addressed Jerusalem.
Repeated to Minister of State, Cairo (please pass copy to C.-in-C., Middle East).

chaee

Reference Secretary of State's telegram No. 999.

Gendarmerie.

Following from Gater. Begins.

operationally under military control, but that responsibility for finance and administration should rest with Palestine Government. Men for the Force could be obtained only at expense of military units by calling for volunteers, and past experience has proved that volunteers will not be forthcoming unless conditions are materially improved, in particular by increase in pay. It is clear that any such improvement would have to be extended to members of the Palestine Police. Notwithstanding this, A.C.I. has just

been/

Copies sent to:-

War Office Foreign Office War Cabinet Offices

(S.D. 2.)

The Hon. H.A.A. Hankey Mr. E.A. Armstrong. been published asking for volunteers for Palestine Police on present terms, and response to this appeal will indicate possibility of getting volunteers for Gendarmerie on the same terms.

- Apart from the political implications of the project to which reference is made below, there would appear to be a number of serious difficulties of a practical nature:-
- (1) Colonial Office has always felt doubt whether large-scale disturbances could be averted or suppressed by additional force of 2,000 men of type proposed:
- (2) It seems possible that addition of this substantial number of police might impose an unduly heavy burden on the Inspector-General, whose task is already onerous and exacting:
- (3) Border line between Gendarmerie section and remainder of British Section of Palestine Police, working under same conditions of service, would be hard to define, and possibility of friction between two groups would have to be taken into account if Gendarmerie were to be reorganized as discharging a specially important rôle:
- (4) Having regard to necessity of increasing pay of all ranks of British Police (see paragraph 1 above), cost would be considerably in excess of estimate given in your despatch of 24th May, which is already substantial. Moreover, increase for British personnel might lead to requests by Jewish and Arab members of Force for improved conditions.
- Even if all these practical difficulties could be overcome and suitable volunteers found, there remains one serious consideration viz. the risk from the political point of view that, since obviously the Jews are better argument to use organized for starting trouble, project would be interpreted generally as a threat directed against the Jews, rather than as an impartial measure for forestalling disturbances from whatever quarter they may arise.

of war

4. While we are most reluctant to question a course of action so strongly advocated by Middle East War Council and supported by War Office, C.-in-C., Middle East, and yourself, we feel that the difficulties mentioned above are serious and we should welcome your comments on them in order that I may take the Secretary of State's instructions.

5. I am communicating substance of this telegram to the S. of S. and will similarly notify him of your reply. Ends.

(Copy sent to Cypher Room, Foreign Office, for repetition to Minister of State, Cairo).

FO 371/35039

Dear Boyd Mr. Boyd I was shocked, if I may say so, Co, at the argument used in para 3 of M. Hanky to your tel us. 1103 to ternsalem . the danger of againged trouble being organised by the fews, at a moment when it is most calculated to be incomplient the effective conclusion of the ways in the Meditimanian, is such that we are compelled to immobilizing 2,000 specially selected men to seeme public order, then surely the fact that the fews might Major J.B. Howell object is not a stalid argument. Mas W.O. The position as stated is that our effort to conclude the war in the Mediterrayean is liable to bet hampened, at a most inconvenient morphent, by troubly organised by the terps in Falyettue. It is surely not the policy of H.M.d. to make the taking It is, worldy provision of mans for the maintenance of public security in

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To-day phase

3th Oct. 1943.

to be organising an outbreak of violence designed to hamper the war effort as much as possible at the most meonvenient moment for us the would not mather, surely, whether it kews or Apals to one may Arabs. So far as of the Eastern Dept. of the F.D. are concurred, however, I wish to say that we earnist, hope no risk in Palutine hope no risk in Palutine be run for this whatever is decided about the gendarmore stoppaal; the effect of public disorder there on our position in Syria, lag o elsewhere in the Middle East, & also on our relations would be most serious.

'lam sending a copy of this letter to Major Howell, Mas.

(A) R. n. A. Hanky

who were doing this surely argue that the maintenance of public security is in the interests of all classes > all communities even if some, for reasons of their own, are command that it is not.

FO 371/35039

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(E 5853/382/G). MOST SECRET. FOREIGN OFFICE, 3.W.1. 3rd October, 1943.

Dear Boyd,

I was shocked, if I may say so, at the argument used in paragraph 3 of your telegram No. 1103 to Jerusalem. It is, I trust, not the policy of His Majesty's Government to make the provision of means for the maintenance of public security in Palestine (or anywhere else) dependent on the approval of the very people who are known to be organising an outbreak of violence designed to hamper the war effort at an inconvenient moment for us. It would not matter, surely, whether it were Jews or Arabs who were doing this and one may surely argue that the maintenance of public security is in the interests of all classes and all communities, even if some, for reasons of their own, are convinced that it is not. So far as the Eastern Department of the Foreign Office are concerned, however, I wish to say that we earnestly hope no risk of public disorder in Palestine will be run whatever is decided about the gendarmerie proposal; the effect of public disorder there on our position in Syrie, Iraq and elsewhere in the Middle East would be most serious.

I am sending a copy of this letter to Major Howell, M.O.5.

Lours Liceral

(R.M.A. Hankey)

E.B. Boyd, Esq., C.M.G., C.V.O., Colonial Office.

7

INWARD TELEGRAM

March 1266

F 5883 Cypher (O.T.P.)

FROM PALESTINE (Sir H. MacMichael)

TO S. OF S., COLONIES.

D. 9th October, 1943.

15 OCT 1943

No. 1254 Most Secret

Addressed to the S. of S. Repeated by savingram to the Minister of State, Cairo No. 286.

Your telegram No. 1103.

Following for Gater. Begins.

This Government is responsible for the administration and finance of the Palestine Police Force, which, by virtue of Defence (Control of Police) Regulations 1939, is under the operational control of the G.O.C. Proposal is that the Gendarmerie should be integral part of the Force, in which case the War Office's point would be met, The Military authorities have throughout recognised that recruitment for the Gendarmerie would be at the expense of Military units, and the G.C.C. considers this recruitment should have a high degree of priority; he estimates, and I agree, that six trained police are as a rule able to do what is required in the suppression of the initial stages of disorder more affectively than several times that number of soldiers preshed only as such.

Terms and conditions of service clearly require careful consideration, but I understand from your observations on this point and previous correspondence, that we may have to improve the terms for the Police even to keep the present establishment up to strength. This question has

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Reference:
FO 371/35039

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been under review in relation to serving members of the Force, and quite apart from any question of recruitment (whether for the Gendarmerie or not) there may be a case for improving their conditions. I shell address the S. of S. further on this point. As you suggest, it would be quite impossible to contemplate differential rates for Police and Gendarmerie, and I suggest that this be accepted as basis on which further examination of the Gendarmerie Scheme can proceed. Cost of the scheme would, of course, be increased by improvement in conditions of service, but if improvement is justifiable where serving police are concerned, and essential to maintain establishment at strength, and to secure the formation of Gendarmerie, then clearly this must be faced. Even without making allowance for loss of life, the cost of the 1936 - 39 Rebellion, directly and indirectly, is incalculable. I can but urge that financial considerations be eliminated as a bar to giving effect to the project. See also paragraph 3(4) below.

- 3. My comments on the point raised in paragraph 2 of your telegram are:-
 - (1) There must always be an element of doubt in assessing the armed strength required to meet a situation which has not yet taken shape, but, as earnest of H.M. Government's determination to stand no nonsense from any quarter, the formation of a force of the size proposed, the Gendarmerie, might well deter hot heads from embarking on a course of action whose outcome would be a state of rebellion. If it does not, and disturbances break out, it is imperative that the Security suthorities should be in a position to take the initiative from the very beginning, as, if it is lost, we must be prepared for considerable loss of life, and a long, tedious and expensive process restoring order, with incalculable repercussions. Even if troops were available without detriment to operations elsewhere, a force trained as Gendermerie would be far better suited to the purpose of taking action required.
 - (2) The Gendarmerie will be a self-contained unit with its own officers, and there need be no apprehension that its administration will unduly tax the Inspector General of Police and his Headquarters Stair.

- (3) There already exists a police formation analogous, except in strength, to the Gendarmerie, namely the Mobile Police Striking Force. Its duties to the extent that its numbers allow, are those which would be carried out also by the Gendarmerie, and are distinctly Police duties. There is no friction between members of Striking and ordinary Police, and I do not anticipate that friction is any more likely to arise with the Gendarmerie. The Police Porce as a whole (except for Special Constables) has been declared by Proclamation of 27th May, 1942, to be a Military Force, liable to be employed in Military duties for the defence of Palestine, and is thus recognised as carrying out an important flighting role. Meither the G.O.C. nor myself see any occasion for differentiation in the case of the Gendarmerie.
- (4) Finance. See paragraph 2 above. Prime facto, any increase in emoluments of the British Section of the Police would be by way of Var Compensatory Allowance. So long as increases were within the framework of the existing Supplementary Allowance Scheme, there would be no grounds for any representations for improved conditions by Palestinian Police, who already draw compensatory allowances.

As regards the political consideration to which you refer in paragraph 3 of your telegram, I am aware that politically the Zionists view the scheme (of which they have an inkling) with disapprobation. If, however, as they claim, they are solely concerned for their defence against the Arabs, they should welcome the project as offering greater guerantee of local nacurity. The fact that they do not casts considerable doubt upon the sincority of this motive. They might, of course, contend that the formation of the Gendarmeric would be an unnecessary diversion of British manpower, but to this the reply is (a) the argument at the end of paragraph t above, and (b) that the maintenance of Internal trangetility in the Middle Bast is a matter of the highest importance, not only to the wer effort, but to Britain's permanent interests, strategic and decrease, in this area.

Copies sent to:-War Office Foreign Office War Cabinet Offices

~ S.D. 2.

- The Hon. R.M.A. Hankey.

- Mr. E.A. Armstrong.

TELEGRAM INWARD

Cypher (O.T.P.)

FROM PALESTINE (Sir H. MacMichael)

TO S. OF S., COLONIES

D. 23rd October, 1943.

11. 23rd " "

18,45 hrs.

IMPORTANT

No. 1314 Most Secret

Repeated to Minister of State No. 313 Saving.

Following for Sir G. Gater.

Your telegram No. 1176 to the Minister of State, repeated to me. hotherce

Palestine Gendermerie.

When I met the S. of S. in Cairo I discussed this matter fully with him and need not recapitulate the argument in my telegram No. 1254. I should however emphatically re-stress considerations outlined in paragraph 3 of my most secret despatch of 24th May and add following figures.

of the total present effective Strength of 2,608 in British section of Police

- (a) 423 men have had their service prolonged compulsorily and are being retained against their will.
- (b) 914 men have completed five years or over resident Service without leave and 1,014 men three years or over.
- (c) 584 mon (recent recruits) are serving on contract for the duration of the war only.

503 **(7)**



It will thus be apparent if this Gendarmerie of 2,000 men is available at the end of the war it will only make up total police force available in Palestine to about figure of present establishment (approximately 3,000).

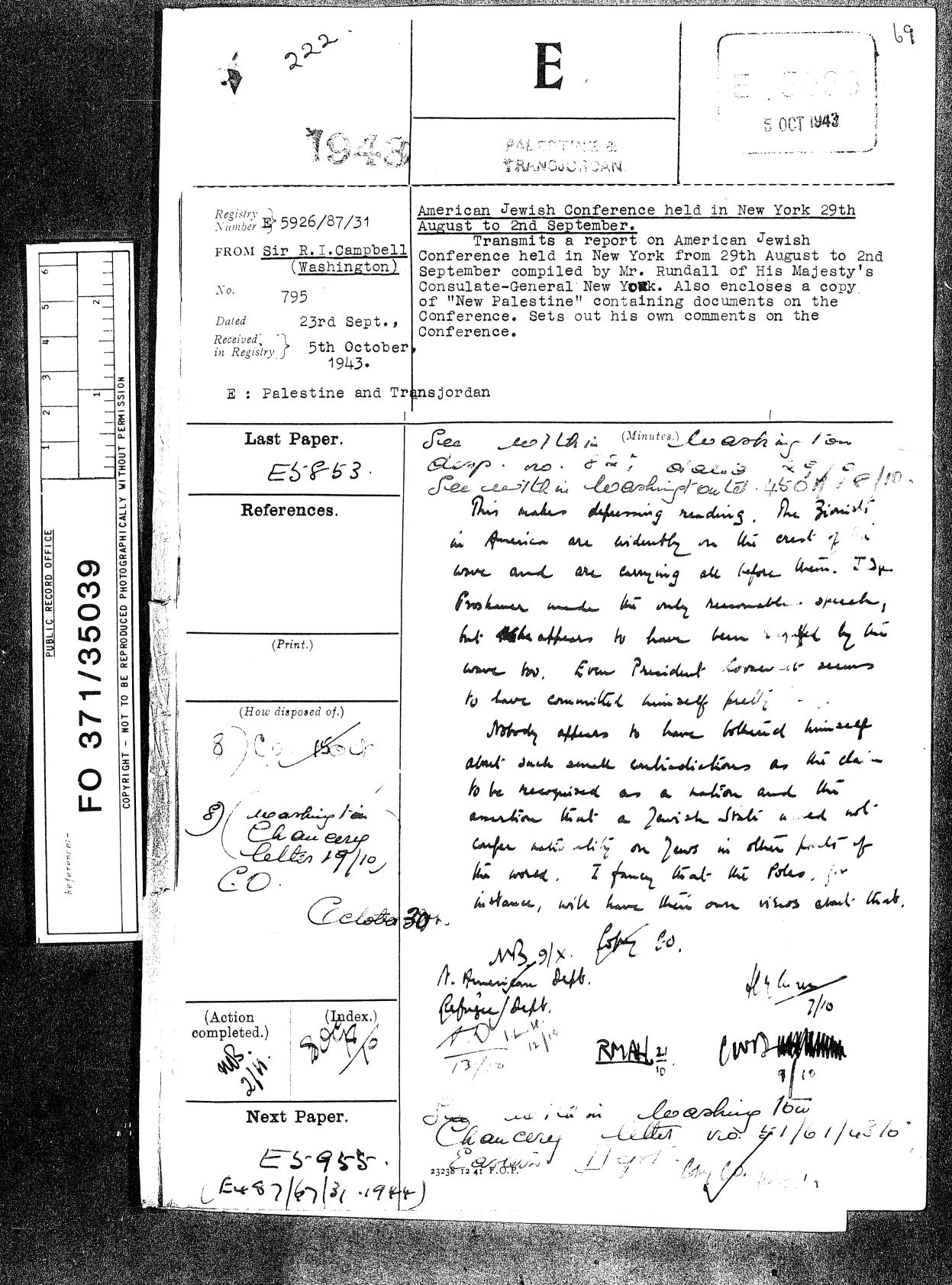
Copies sent to:-

War Office (S.D. 2(a)) - Major J.R. Haslegrave Foreign Office - The Hon. R.M.A. Hankey

War Cabinet Offices - Mr. E.A. Armstrong

Preasury

- Mr. C.H.M. Wilcox



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BRITISH EMBASSY WASHILGTON, D.C.

September 23rd, 1943.

Sir,

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith a report on the American Jewish Conference held in New York from August 29th to September 2nd, compiled by Mr. Rundall of His Majesty's Consulate General at New York. I also enclose a copy of "New Palestine" containing documents on the Conference.

- 2. The most important fact which appears to emerge is that this Conference was genuinely representative of the majority of American Jews, and that consequently its predominantly Zionist complexion may correctly be assumed to represent the prevailing attitude of this majority. While there may have been a time when the claim of the anti-Zionist "assimilationists" that the Zionists represented merely the vocal minority in the United States Jewish community was true, this is evidently no longer the case, and it may be assumed from the conciliatory behaviour of such non-Zionists as the influential American Jewish Committee that the strength of Zionist influence within the Jewish population of the United States is by this time recognised by both sides in the dispute.
- While the resolutions of the Conference, carried by a virtually unanimous vote, do not appear materially to depart from the routine Zionist professions, the doubts and misgivings expressed by Judge Proskauer in his statement (see pages 8-9 of the report) about the timeliness of a demand for a Jewish Commonwealth are of some importance, both because they appear to have been inspired by private advices of high American authorities, and because the intransigent attitude of the Zionist majority at the Conference (strengthened by the evident weakness of the opposition to it) may yet cause the American Jewish Committee, which includes such influential Washington officials as the President's adviser, Judge Samuel Rosenman, as well as other well known Jews, once again to split off from the majority over the Jewish Commonwealth issue, a move which might be joined by the Jewish Labour Committee, the Federation of Jewish Women, and other bodies. This would inevitably be interpreted, at any rate in Washington, as indicating a genuine cleavage of opinion among influential American Jews.

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The Right Honourable
Anthony Eden, M.C., M.F.,
etc., etc., etc.
Foreign Office,
London, S.W.1.

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AND INCOME.

4. Of the speeches only Dr. Nahum Goldmann's and Judge Proskauer's seem worthy of note. Dr. Goldmann, who is now the senior representative of the Jewish Agency here, delivered as will be seen a relatively temperate address, and went out of his way to stress the fact that he was not one of those who gratuitously attacked British policy or Administration. Mr. Proskauer's speech is the product of careful consultations within the American Jewish Committee and may be regarded as the official declaration of that body.

5. Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver was, it seems, the dominant figure at the Conference and seems the obvious

- 5. Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver was, it seems, the dominant figure at the Conference and seems the obvious successor to Rabbi Stephen Wise as the Zionist Pope in the United States. He greatly impressed his audience by a display of old fashioned hell-fire rhetoric.
- or form by the Council for American Judaism, which occurred during the New York Conference, served, according to Mr. Rundall's report and one prepared by the O.S.S., to produce greater Zionist unanimity at the Conference itself, since the conciliatory tactics of Judge Proskauer and his non-Zionist group had not given the Zionist extremists much to bite on. The manifesto of the Council for American Judaism and the well known attitude of Mr. Arthur Sulzberger, publisher of the New York Times (which gave it great prominence) to Zionism, provided the occasion for indignation for which the Zionists had been hoping. After the Council's manifesto, the direction of the Conference was, if possible, a more foregone conclusion than before.
- 7. The claims and representations by two Communist inspired Jewish bodies, the Jewish People's Party and the International Workers' Order, were rejected in toto. This caused little stir outside the Jewish Communist press (the New York Daily Freiheit) and was expected by both sides. The Mark in the Conference.

8. It will be seen from the report that the only major point of disagreement between the Zionists and the non-Zionists in the Conference was over the question of the timeliness of the demand for a Jewish Commonwealth, and that this doubt was possibly shared by some among the Zionists. It may be doubted whether the non-Zionists are in fact in favour of a Commonwealth at any date, but they are evidently not prepared to express such doubts today, if indeed they feel them, for fear of provoking excessive resentment among the United States Jewish population. It will be seen that the Zionists and non-Zionists achieved unanimity over the demands for the abrogation of the White Paper, mass immigration of Jews into Palestine, and the restoration of Jewish rights in Europe. As for the White Paper, even the

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bitterly anti-Zionist Council for American Judaism opposes it; but its argument is that if the Sionists had not pressed their purely political claims so hard His Najesty's Government would perhaps never have been provoked into initiating the Thite Paper policy by way of antidots. The disagreement thus revolves about tactics best calculated to secure Jewish i ignation into Palestine, not upon the issue whether such immigration is itself desirable.

Shortly after the Zionist triumph at the Lagrican Jewish Conference, the Zionist Organisation of America held its forty-sixth annual convention at Columbus, Ohio, on September 12th. Rabbi Israel Goldstein was elected President succeeding Judge Louis Levinthal. I gather that Dr. Goldstein is a man of no great powers, a typical New York Zionist Lactotum, with a tendency to blame His Lajesty's Government for everything. This Vice Fresidents are Judge Levinthal, Edger I. Kaufman (a millionaire ex-President of this body), Issers. Lipsky, Szold (who recently left on a Zionist dission to Palestine), Judges Rothenberg and Rosenblatt, and wants Goldman (of Chicago), Silver, Wise, and Hollor (of Cincinnati). Speeches delivered at the Conformaco ware of a routine character, with the now usual impossioned harangue by the new "strong man" of American Zioniem, nakbi Hillel Bilver (see paragraph 5 stove).

10. A ressage was received by the Conference from President Roosevelt, which, after expressing horror at Aris cruelties visited upon European Jews, and referring to the statement made by the Secretary of state on October 30th, 19/2, as expressing the sttitude of the United States Government towards this, ended with the words: "I am confident that the helyful contributions made by American citizens towards the establishment of a national home for the Jewish people in Ealestine will be continued". While there is nothing startling in these words, it is apparently the first positive encouragement to Zionism in any shape or form delivered by the Frosident (as opposed to rembers of his Cabinet) for some time, and is, therefore, much built upon by gio leaders. According to the Jawish Welegraphic Agency, a similar message was received from Scarchary Hull.

It would seem clear that Mionism is in fact growing at a faster rate in the United States in direct proportion as other solutions of the Jewish problem seem more and more remote and impracticable to those chiefly concerned. The Jewish War Veterans of the United States, for example, which has some standing in American Legion circles, is about to declare itself in favour of a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine. This event, trivial enough in itself, corves to show how the wind blovs.

12. This rise in nationalist sentiment among American Jews bears no relation to any concrete hopes which their leaders may entertain of being able to sway either the American or the British Covernments in their own favour; the attitude to Zionist emissaries by the relevant officials of the Department of State has left them in little doubt as to the attitude of, e.g., the Division of Kear Eastern Affairs, and now Mr. Welles, upon whom they looked, with some reason, as an ally, appears to have been lost to them. Nor have they had any genuine sign of a conversion to their point of view on the part of Mr. Hull or the President, who have thus far preserved a strictly neutral attitude on this topic. The mood of Zionist leaders is, therefore, said to be one of qualified pessimism about the immediate future of their movement. Mevertheless the degree of direct political pressure capable of being exercised in an election year by a well organised movement of this kind should not be underestimated.

I have the honour to be,
with the highest respect,
Sir,
Your most obedient,
humble servant,

R. J. Campbell

H.H. Chargé d'Affaires

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1. Organisation of the Conference.

The idea of holding an American-Jewish Conference which should be truly representative of every shade of Jewish opinion in this country has occupied the attention of leading Jews for the past year. A meeting of 32 Jewish societies was held in Pittsburg early in 1943 and plans were laid for the present meeting.

The agenda of the Conference was as follows:

- (a) To consider and recommend action on the problems relating to the rights and status of Jews in the post-war world.
- (b) To consider and recommend action upon all matters looking to the implementation of the rights of the Jewish people with respect to Palestine.
- (c) To elect a delegation to carry out the program of the American-Jewish Conference in cooperation with the duly accredited representatives of Jews throughout the world.

The Conference consisted of 500 delegates; 377 elected by the various Jewish communities throughout the United States on a basis of proportional representation and 123 nominated as representatives of the various national Jewish societies. The elected delegates were required before election to state their position on the matters comprising the agenda, and it may therefore be argued that the overwhelming Zionist representation in the Conference is a fair expression of the opinion of the majority of Jews in this country.

240 out of the 377 elected delegates belonged to the Zionist Organisation of America, which in a meeting prior to the Conference had outlined its own program. This included, besides the usual demand for a Jewish state, the immediate abrogation of the 1939 White Paper; mass immigration of Jews to Palestine until they were in a majority there; the control of immigration to be vested in Jewish hands and full opportunity for Jews to develop the economic resources of Palestine. As the Conference opened it was apparent that virtually all the delegates supported the creation of a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine. The only national societies opposed to this were the American-Jewish Committee, representing a number of conservative and influential Jews, and the American-Jewish Labour Committee, which took no stand on the Palestine question owing to lack of agreement amongst its members.

2. Proceedings of the Conference.

The Conference opened at the Hotel Waldorf-Astoria in New York on August 29th. After a short memorial service for Jews who had perished under the persecutions of Hitler, the chairman, Henry Monsky, President of the mutual benefit society B'Nai B' Rith, claimed that the delegates present held a mandate from the Jews of America. They must not waste their time in lamentation or in expressions of sympathy, but must outline a concrete program of action and bring it to the attention of the governments of the world. He touched on the various subjects in the agenda and criticised those in the Jewish community who viewed with alarm any forthright expression of views or demand for action on the part of American Jewry. He stressed that any demands which might be made would not be for special privileges but for elementary justice.

The Conference then organized itself into seven committees of 50 members each, elected on the basis of one committee member for every ten delegates registered with a general committee representing all the delegates. This was intended to ensure that every shade of opinion would be represented on each committee according to its numerical strength among the delegates. There were only three committees of real importance; a committee to draft resolutions on the rights of the Jewish people with regard to Palestine, a committee to draft resolutions on the problems and on the rights and status

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of Jews in the post-war world and a committee to draft resolutions on the proposals for the rescue of the Jews of Europe. All resolutions on these subjects sponsored by more than ten delegates should be sent in writing to the appropriate committee. It was also decided to elect a praesidium of fourteen members nominated and proposed by the general committee. Ten of these should be elected by the various groups at the Conference on the basis of one representative for every fifty delegates. The balance of four should be nominated by the general committee.

There was some criticism of these proposals, apparently on the grounds that this procedure would allow the official organisations more weight than their numbers warranted. A suggestion from the floor that the committees should be elected by the delegates at large was, however, overwhelmingly defeated. The rest of the session was taken up with speeches by representatives of various large national groups. They were mainly calls to immediate action and criticisms of the 1939 White Paper and the Bermuda Conference.

The next session was devoted to the problem of the rescue of the Jews in Europe. The main speakers were Doctor Stephen S. Wise, President of the American-Jewish Congress and Judge Joseph F. Proskauer, President of the American-Jewish Committee. Doctor Wise urged the appointment of a delegation from the Conference to call upon President Roosevelt, with the object of requesting immediate action to rescue the remnants of European Jewry. He declared that only three million survived of the eight million Jews living in Europe at the beginning of the war, and urged the United Nations not to incur the stigma of refusing to rescue them just because they were Jews. He proposed that there should be free Jewish immigration into Palestine under the joint control of the Mandatory power and the Jewish Agency and called for the establishment of an inter-governmental committee to punish those guilty of crimes against the Jews.

Judge Proskauer, one of the few non-Zionists present, urged that the Conference should stress the points of agreement between its members and not their differences. These points of agreement were as follows: The Conference agreed that the United Nations should give immediate relief and rehabilitation to the victims of Axis tyranny and should organise such relief on an official basis. They also agreed that the Jewish citizens of every land should be guaranteed the right of equality and that no considerations of expediency, such as had effected the revocation of the Cremieux Decrees, should be allowed to interfere with this. The delegates were as one in recognition of the superb achievements of the Jewish settlers in Palestine. Departing at this point from his prepared text, he felt that a formula could be adopted to keep Palestine open for the Jewish immigration. This addition, which represented a distinct concession from the American-Jewish Committee to the Zionist point of view, was treated with loud cheers by the delegates. Proskauer finished with an appeal for unity, which he defined as unity within the area of their agreements. Such unity could not be achieved if anyone were forced to act contrary to his principles. All delegates were free agents, but this did not mean that they would do less than their utmost to reach accord. They were ultimately all working for the preservation of Jewry and of the democratic way of life.

Proskauer spoke with dignity and was accorded a respectful hearing. He was followed by a series of Zionist speakers, urging adoption of the full Zionist program of recognition of Palestine as a Jewish Commonwealth. Doctor Israel Goldstein of the Palestine Organisation of America proposed a program of immediate rescue work which, he declared, was at present within the bounds of practical possibility. The Axis nations should be warned that there would be retribution for further massacres, and a tribunal of investigation, upon which Jews would be represented, should immediately be set up. Measures similar to those adopted for Greece should immediately be taken to relieve the starvation of the Jews in Europe. Efforts should be made to encourage the release of Jews in Rumania and other satellite countries. Neighbouring neutral countries should be urged to provide temporary asylum for them and immigration should be organised overland to Palestine for as many as could be sent in this way. One

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speaker for the Labour Zionist group criticised Proskauer's plea for unity on the grounds that he was attempting to allow the minority to veto the decisions of the majority. Emphasising that the Jewish demand for Palestine was the demand for the return of what was rightfully theirs, he urged the American-Jewish Committee to bow to the popular will.

The next session, possibly the most important, was devoted to the problem of Palestine. The debate on this question was of a very high order and the speakers approached the problem with considerable eloquence and restraint. The case for zionism was put by Doctor Nahum-Goldmann, an executive of the Jewish Agency. He put up an able argument for the extreme Zionist position. Beginning by reading a message from Doctor Weizmann, he undertook to show that a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine was the only practical solution of the Jewish problem. It was the solution of the problem of the persecution and homelessness of millions of Jews and had so been recognised at the time of the Balfour Declaration. During recent years the problem had become more acute, and the tragic reduction in the number of Jews now living in Europe made its realisation more feasible. A mass transfer of Jews to Palestine was now logical and necessary. The Jewish Agency did not support enforced Jewish Immigration -- they held that every Jew had the right to repatriation to the country from which he had been expelled. There should be a choice before such refugees, but the logical solution was to allow as many of them as so desired to go to Palestine. He himself felt that the countries of Europe overrun by Hitler could never again be made suitable homes for the Jewish people. No one could deny the achievements of the Jews in Palestine during the past twenty years. The Jews had shown that they could organise a national culture in their homeland and that nobody else could do it for them. Although they had suffered many injustices at the hands of the British Administration in Palestine, he felt that no other country could have performed this difficult task in a more satisfactory way. Britain's failure was due to the fact that it was a mandatory power whose primary national interests were not involved. He therefore proposed that the Jewish people should have the courage and frankness to put their problem to the world. They should demand to be masters of their own fate in Palestime, to control their own immigration and colonisation, and, once the foundations were laid, to be allowed to constitute there a Jewish Commonwealth. Doctor Goldmann then discussed the main Anti-Zionist arguments; the fear that a national state in Palestine would reflect on Jewish minorities in other countries and the problem of the Arab population. He stressed that Zionism did not intend to set up an International State or to confer nationality on Jews all over the world. It wished to concentrate as many Jews as possible in their national home where they could live their national life. All Jews living outside Palestine would be equal citizens in their own countries to which they would owe their primary loyalty. The Zionists realised that the Arab population in Palestine must always have the fullest rights of equality, and that the future of the Jewish people depended almost entirely on an understanding with the Arabs and with the neighbouring Arab States. This understanding should not be too difficult to develop -- but since the Jews would not relinquish their moral right to be a majority in Palestine, the United Nations should be prepared to lay down the rules for a just settlement of conflicting claims. He claimed that the Arab leaders had been spoiled by British appeasement and German propaganda during the past ten years. Stressing the justice of the Jewish demand for the fulfillment of the Balfour Declaration, he claimed this to be the only reparation which the world could offer for ten years of unhindered Jewish persecution.

Subsequent speakers redefined the Zionist position. The Jews were a people, they had achieved a national culture in Palestine and therefore must be recognized as a nation. They had never relinquished their right to their homeland since they were expelled from it 1800 years ago and had as much claim to restoration as any other dispossessed people. The Conference must exert the maximum pressure for a Jewish Commonwealth as the only solution for their problems.

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The final speech of the evening was by Doctor Abba Hillal Silver, the Chairman of the Zionist Emergency Committee, who next to Doctor Wise is probably the leading figure in American Zionist circles. He made a most eloquent and moving speech which probably marked the turning point in the Conference. Until he spoke the Zionists had been dealing gently with the non-Zionists. Silver was more forceful, and when he had finished delegates leapt cheering to their feet and sang the Jewish National Anthem.

He began on a sober note. The first world war had brought antisemitism in its train and he saw no prospect of improvement after this war. The Jewish problem, a problem that had been immediate for hundreds of years, was fundamentally the homelessness of the Jews. The Balfour Declaration had recognised this and the idea of a Jewish National State had been endorsed by all the responsible allied statesmen after the last world war. Why then were the Jews afraid of this idea? Why should this point be sacrificed for a plea of unity? The Conference could only reach unity on the full program of Judaism including a National Commonwealth. Agreement on a lesser point, even for purposes of harmony, would not be unity but betrayal. The British Colonial Office, at present "synonymous with the Arabs", was against further Jewish immigration. Any appeal for the opening of Palestine in order to solve the refugee problem would be met with the reply that Palestine had already done its share. The Conference should not abdicate one jot its its political demands, and in this the minority must bow to the will of the majority. The Conference should give its unanimous and unequivocal backing to the full Zionist program.

American Council for Judaism Inc.

The subject for discussion in the next session of the Conference was to have been the position of the Jews in post-war Europe, but the burning topic which was obviously exercising the delegates was the manifesto of the American Council for Judaism published that morning in the "New York Times".

The manifesto appealed to the United Nations for the earliest possible repatriation or resettlement of all peoples up-rooted from their homes by the Axis powers, but criticised the idea of a Jewish National State as a "philosophy of defeatism". It stressed its disagreement with theories proclaiming the racialism, nationalism and theoretical homelessness of the Jews and asked only for the equality of rights and obligations of all Jewish minorities in every country of which they were citizens.

In a private discussion of the manifesto before the opening of the session, the writer was assured that the Council represented only a small number of prominent Jews and of Reformed Rabbis in the United States. It had no following among the rank and file, but gained prestige because a few prominent Jews such as Lessing Rosenwald, Chairman of Seaks Roebuck, belonged to it. It had been started early in 1943 when a small group of Rabbis broke from the Reformed Rabbinate on the question of Palestine and seceded from the organisation. The fundamental difference between the Council and the Conference appeared to be that the Council denied the existence of the Jews as a race and maintained that they were only separate minorities of varying nationalities. They feared the accusation -- especially in the United States -- of a double loyalty and were therefore unwilling to accept the Zionist program. What really annoyed the delegates was the deliberate attempt of the Council, by publishing their manifesto while the Conference was in session, to suggest to the public at large that Jews in the United States were divided on the question of Palestine. For this they blamed Sulzberger, the editor of the "New York Times" who they claimed was one of the principal figures behind the Council. The "New York Times" gave far better placing and publicity to the manifesto than to the proceedings of the Conference, and there appears to be no doubt that this was deliberate.

As a result this session of the Conference never reached its agenda. When it opened, long after the appointed time, four speakers representing all the rabbinical bodies in the United States made declarations condemning

the Council/

the Council and its manifesto. The Council was variously characterised as a "disruptive force", "treachery to the cause of our land" and "a stab in the back". Henry Monsky as chairman stated that many people had wished to speak in denunciation of the manifesto, but that it had been decided to limit debate to the four speeches and to a statement from the chair. He then read the statement, which characterised the issue of the manifesto during the Conference as "unsportsmanlike" and as "incomprehensible impertinence". The manifesto was calculated to confuse American public opinion andto disrupt the American Jewish community. The delegates assembled at the Conference, representing every point of view, united in repudiation of this attempt to sabotage the collective Jewish will. Finally Doctor Wise, to the joy of the meeting, arose to sum up. He stated that he was the logical man to consign the Council to hell because he had been consigned to hell so often himself. He cursed the Council at the top of his voice as spreaders of disunity and urged all American Jewry to unite against them. The resolution was then carried with enthusiasm and the chairman attempted to bring the meeting back to the consideration of post-war problems. In this however he met with no success. Rabbi Schubow of Boston, speaking from the floor where he was strategically located near a microphone, attacked the "New York Times" in the most virulent manner as the chief source of Jewish woes in the United States. This hadreference to the reports of their correspondent on the arms-running trial in Jerusalem which had aroused considerable resentment. The chairman attempted to rule the Rabbi out of order, but he persisted fortissimo to the accompaniment of cheers from his audience. Finally a speaker for the Jewish Labour Committee, of unimaginable dullness, succeeded in emptying the Conference room.

Resolution on Palestine.

This resolution was presented at the evening session on September 1st by Doctor Silver. He declared that the Palestine Committee had received three resolutions and a declaration from the Jewish Labour Committee that its organisation took no stand on the ultimate constitution of Palestine but would support free immigration and colonisation. The resolutions were as follows:

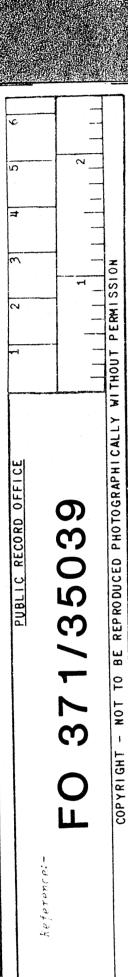
- 1. A resolution sponsored by the Zionist Block, the American-Jewish Congress and the National Religious Block.
- 2. A resolution sponsored by the Reformed Religious Group, and
- 3. A resolution sponsored by the Non-Partisan Group.

He informed the meeting that after some 40 members of the Committee had expressed their views, it was found possible to agree on one combined resolution. It had been adopted by an overwhelming vote.

He then read the resolution, which is given textually at the end of this memorandum. When he reached the point requesting the fulfillment of the Balfour Declaration, the proceedings were interrupted by prolonged cheers and the singing of the Jewish national anthem. Doctor Wise then moved for its adoption and was seconded by Henry Monsky from the floor, who claimed that it represented "the composite will and judgment of the committee". It was put to the meeting and carried by an almost unanimous vote. The actual figures announced by Doctor Wise that only four had dissented, but for purposes of record this was listed as "an overwhelming affirmative vote".

Doctor Wise noted with satisfaction that Judge Proskauer, the President of the American-Jewish Committee, had remained on the platform during the voting although he was one of the few dissenters. Commending him for his attitude throughout the proceedings, he called upon him to make a statement at his own request. Proskauer was well received by the audience. Claiming that he felt like Daniel in the Lion's den, he stated that although his organisation dissented from the resolution they remained in the Conference

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in a spirit of give and take. He recalled that the American-Jewish Committee had entered the Conference only on the assurance that their right to dissent would not be limited. He then read the statement of dissent.

The statement pointed out that the resolution would vest control over immigration in a Jewish authority. It was felt that the issuance of such a proposal at this time was unwise, because it might enbarrass the United Nations, jeopardise the status of Jews and even prejudice the fullest development of Palestine itself. He pointed out that this was the time when the gravest and most delicate military and world-wide political questions were involved. The duty of the Jewish people was to concentrate on the victory of the United Nations, and it was inadvisable to bring political matters likely to cause dissension to the foreground at this time. The American-Jewish Committee had therefore endeavoured to dissuade the Palestine Committee of the Conference to postpone their resolution, but without success. It considered that owing to the impossibility of predicating world developments, the Conference should ask for the continuance of an international trusteeship to safeguard the Jewish settlement in Palestine and the fundamental rights of its inhabitants, in order to prepare the country to become within a reasonable period of years a self-governing Commonwealth under a constitution that would protect the basic rights of all. On these grounds the American-Jewish Committee dissented from the resolution. Proskauer's speech was well received, but it was obvious that the great majority supported the Zionist point of view. Wise then closed the meeting with the singing of the Star Spangled Banner.

The proceedings of the Committee on Palestine were of course private, but from the report of those who attended, it would seem that they were carried on at a very high level. There were at first a number of waverers, but the final adoption of the resolution in committee had only two dissentient voices. The opposition, which was led by Proskauer, was apparently not to the idea of an ultimate Jewish State in Palestine but on the expediency of making such a demand at this stage of the war. Proskauer was reported to have hinted that he had been privately advised by persons high up in the Administration that it was not considered expedient by the United States Government for such a resolution to be passed. He was, however, over-ruled.

Other Resolutions.

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The first part of the final session was taken up by minor speakers who had hitherto been unable to get the ear of the meeting. The only significant point was prolonged applause when one speaker mentioned Vice-President Wallace. The Post-War Problems Committee then presented their resolution. It demanded an international bill of rights to set up a world order based on the Four Freedoms. The bill should provide for:

- (1) the full and complete protection of life and liberty for all;
- (2) equal rights for all under the law, and for the inalienable right of all religious or ethnic groups to maintain and foster their respective group identities on a basis of equality.

The resolution also demanded that anti-semitism should be outlawed as an instrument of international and internal policy. This outlawry should be implemented by International Conventions and by national legislation and proper and adequate machinery should be established to affect these objectives. The resolution urged that special attention should be given by the United Nations to Jewish problems during the transition from war to peace and that special measures should be undertaken for the relief, rehabilitation and reconstruction of the Jews in the war-stricken areas. These last should include the recognition of the right of every Jew who desired to settle in Palestine to emigrate and take his possessions with him. The full text of the resolution is attached.

A minority/

A minority amendment to this resolution was offered from the floor, proposing that Jews should be specifically included in any post-war stipulations of minority rights so that Jewish communities should enjoy such rights in countries where they applied. The amendment was opposed on the grounds that the resolution should not be too specific. After some argument it was defeated and the original resolution was carried almost unanimously.

The Rescue Committee then reported. It asked for an "International Habeas Corpus Act" and expressed its concern that nothing had been done since the Bermuda Conference for the rescue of the Jews in occupied Europe. It felt that action on this point was an "inescapable moral obligation on the democracies," and therefore proposed the following program:-

- (1) A warning should now be issued to Axis Governments that all guilty of Anti-semitic acts will be brought to justice;
- (2) The Allied Commission on War Crimes set up in London should immediately go into operation.
- (3) Temporary asylum should be given to all Jews escaping from Axisoccupied territory, in the territories of the United Nations.
- (4) All refugees who were able to make the journey should be allowed a permanent home in Palestine.
- (5) Neutral nations should be financed to accept refugees.
- (6) An inter-governmental agency should be set up to send supplies and arms for rescue and defence through the Underground. The resolution further stressed the urgency of this.

It was well received and after some discussion was adopted unanimously. A special motion for the rescue of children was also adopted.

An Interim Committee was then proposed to carry on the work until the next meeting of the Conference. It should be formed of delegates elected by the same proportional representation of the societies as had been used in electing the committees. It should implement the decisions of the Conference and reconvene it within twelve months.

There was strong objection to this last point by various delegates on the floor, who claimed that the idea of a permanent organisation was beyond the mandate given by the electorate to the delegates at the Conference. There seemed to be a general feeling, especially on the part of delegates from outside New York, that they would be handing over the conduct of Jewish affairs to a small Committee, which would override the existing societies. After considerable discussion, however, the point was carried almost unanimously. The evening session, the last session of the Conference, was rather an anti-climax. The balance of the Rescue Committee report revealed the uneasiness mentioned above on the subject of the Interim Committee. After much discussion in the Committee, a proposal had been carried, with a large number of abstentions, that the Interim Committee should implement the rescue work proposed in the resolution. A minority report, which apparently considered that a separate committee should be set up for this purpose, had been withdrawn, and the final resolution was carried almost unanimously. The post-war committee's resolution was then put through quickly. Various other minor resolutions were adopted, proposed largely to fill in time until the result of the elections to the Interim Committee could be announced. They included a resolution of greeting to the Jews in Palestine and in Axis-occupied countries, a resolution of loyalty to the United States, and a resolution of thanks to Dr. Wise. There appeared to be a general feeling that the latter, who undoubtedly had overwhelming popular support in the Conference, had deliberately subordinated himself in the interests of unity.

The Interim/

 The Interim Committee was finally announced. As was to be expected, it reflected the general tone of the Conference and was overwhelmingly Zionist. A few of the leaders made general statements - Rabbi Silver made another extremely fiery, moving speech. The Jewish Labour Committee repudiated charges that it had fostered disunity in the Conference, and stated that its organisation had sponsored some of the most important resolutions adopted. There was a sharp attack on Sir Ronald Storrs, formerly Governor of Jerusalem, by the editor of the "Jewish Frontier". The Conference ended on a note of exhaustion.

Conclusions.

Despite the various bickerings and sethacks there is no doubt that the meeting, the first of its kind, was an outstanding success. Sixty-five national Jevish organisations were represented and the elected delegates, if not entirely representative of the whole Jewish community, had received the votes and backing of at least two million of their compatriots. The Conference had excellent coverage in the local press. Apart from the published manifesto of the American Council for Judaism, four points of cleavage within the Conference may be noted.

- (1) While the Conference was overwhelmingly Zionist, there were distinct doubts as to the wisdom of making the declaration in favour of a Jewish Commonwealth at the time. This was stressed by Proskauer in his statement and he appears to have had many supporters even among the Zionists.
- (2) There was a slight feeling that the delegates at large had not had their full say. This was perhaps unavoidable owing to the limited time at the Conference's disposal.
- (3) There was a general fear that the Jewish societies in the country might be handing over the conduct of their affairs to the Interim Committee, which was perhaps more Zionist than mormal proportional representation would have made it.
- (4) Although most of the voting was virtually unanimous, it was clear that a number of the influential Jews in the United States did not support the timing of the Palestine Declaration. The American Jewish Committee however seems to have come to terms with the American-Jewish Congress and to have admitted the ultimate desirability of a Jewish State in Palestine. This was perhaps the greatest achievement of the Conference. It remains to be seen how the Interim Committee will tackle the task of placing the decisions of the Conference before the Allied Governments and the public at large.

Full texts of the main resolutions and of some of the more important speeches are attached.

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ADDRESS DELIVERED BY DR. STEPHEN S. WISE,

PRESIDENT OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS AND RABBI

OF THE FREE SYNAGOGUE, BEFORE THE AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE

SUNDAY EVENING, AUGUST 29, 1943 - WALDORF ASTORIA, NEW YORK

This is an American Conference. We are Americans, first, last, and all the time. Nothing else that we are, whether by faith or race or fate, qualifies our Americanism. Everything else we are and have deepens, enriches and strengthens, if that can be, our Americanism. We and our fathers chose to be, and now choose to abide as Americans. One hundred generations have chosen that we be Jews, and for another hundred and more generations our children and children's children will choose to be heirs of the Jewish past, builders of the Jewish future. Our first and sternest task, in common with all other citizens of our beloved country and with the citizens of the United Nations, is to win the anti-Fascist war. Unless that war be won, all else is lost.

The question before this American Jewish Conference is: Shall Hitler's attempted extermination of the Jewish people be accepted as the solution of the Jewish problem, or have we American Jews another solution to offer? To ask the question is to answer it,—with a deep, solemn, unanimous negative. And we have a solution to offer:

We were recently reminded in a collection of the noble prose of the late Mr. Justice Holmes: "Not the least Godlike of man's activities is the large survey of causes, that to know is not less than to feel." This Conference is to be such a large survey of a cause, that we may know as well as feel.

Five thousand seven hundred three soon to end has not only been the saddest and mournfullest year in Jewish history, but its sorrow exceeds, alas, the combined sorrows of the last thousand years. The entire Jewish year has been one prolonged, continued never-ending day of mournful commemoration. The first Tishah brab marked the wanton and vandalistic destruction of the holy of holies 1873 years ago. This year of our calendar will forever be commemorated because of the attempted extermination of the whole Jewish people. Attempted and, alas, not in vain for within the Axis world, excluding of course Great Britain and Palestine, Russia and our own country, two-thirds and more of the Axis world's Jewish population has been murdered, most foully and unnaturally murdered, by methods of open and devastating terror. The aim was, as was recently reported by a Christian who has just emerged from the Polish Underground, "to wipe out Jews as a people and individuals, to exterminate them systematically as a race by sheer mass murder without any exceptions."

The Jewish underground relates the unbelievably hideous details of

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necessary to say again that we believe in the speedy triumph of our country, the triumph of the great task it has set out to perform, the saving of itself, the safeguarding of human freedom everywhere, even ultimately for those violators and betrayers of the conquered and the enslaved, the creation of a new and better, because juster, world.

We believe truly in ourselves, in our people, in our faith and fate or destiny: Though our hearts are full of sorrow, we stand unshaken by the evil of the ten years drawing to a close, by the nameless horror of all the past year. We believe more truly than ever in Israel as in Israel's God. Millions of victims within the life of our people, most, if not all, of them, martyrs, those conscious witnesses to the truth which was their life and death as it is our life and deathlessness, move us to believe more truly and surely than ever before in our people, its great past, its momentous though mournful present, its puzzling withal certain future.

This is an American Jewish Conference. American and Jewish! Jewish, because as a people, we have lived and battled, with uncountable victims and casualties through the most awful war in history. Not war but wars! One war in which all the nations, the free nations, fought, and Jews among the free nations fought as of them and with them and for them, in every country in which Jews dwell,—goodly numbers throughout the British Empire, the Soviet Union, and these United States. And we have fought or been fought and outfought in another war. The war of the enemies of freedom against Jews in fulfillment of a thousand threats to exterminate the Jews. We have borne our full share of the war. In addition, there has been a Jewish war, a war in which Jews were singled out as the victims, not as casualties of war but as victims of extermination, the dread and, alas, almost completely successful threat of extermination. No people, though its population were five or ten times as large as the numbers of world Jewry, has suffered losses comparable to that of the Jewish people in the war of anti-Jewish extinction. In that war of Jewish extinction one-fourth and more of our numbers have perished.

American Jewish Conference aims to preserve and safeguard America, so the American Jewish Conference aims to preserve and safeguard America, and beyond that, to preserve and defend the Jewish people. Hitler said, and Goebbels echoed: "The Jewish people must be exterminated." The American Jewish Conference accepts the challenge and answers: The Jewish people will not be exterminated and joins in the high resolve and resistless determination of the United Nations that nevermore shall leader or gangster, Chancellor or president, be permitted even to threaten unrebuked and unpunished the extermination of a people or race or faith. A free world will never again passively wait for the fulfillment of such a threat,

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as it, alas, waited from 1933 to 1939. Such a threat will indict and convict its authors, in the sight and with the sanction of all the world, of destructive intent and purpose not against the Jew alone, not against any people or faith, but against our common civilization and freedom.

We are bidden to think clearly and to act effectively. To think clearly is to think not with confusing prepossessions or prejudices but with open-mindedness and clarity, with mind single to the needs of the hour. The proposal that when the delegates enter the Conference they must forget their partisan labels is only partially valid counsel. The delegates are to act in the name and in the spirit of those who chose and delegated them for the good of all. Each of us represents a segment of Jewish life. All of us together serge the whole of Israel. We shall be truer to Jewry in its entirety only if we remember the best and highest in the group or faction that sent us here.

As for acting effectively, when Jews were threatened, beginning in 1933, Jews failed to unite save for those groups, too few and too limited, which dared to do so. Such a policy of extermination obtained as men have not aforetime known.

Neither did the world unite when Hitler uttered most terrible of threats against freedom, nor until he attacked and devastated Poland. Even then men and nations did not unite, but waited and temporized until it became too late. Holland, Belgium, Norway, Denmark, Greece, Yugoslavia fell by the wayside, one by one. Hitler's war upon a free world began not on August 31, 1939, when he invaded Poland, but on January 30, 1933, when he was by appointment enabled to renew his pre-electoral threat to exterminate the Jewish people.

To act effectively is to act in unison. Action in unison does not mean identity of thinking. Effective action is born of the capacity for adjustment in situations which call for agreement without compromise. Never did a people come under deeper or more compelling motivation. We stand under the shadow of a great and oceanic sorrow, sorrow over the extinction of uncounted numbers of our people, a sorrow too deep for tears. And yet not without hope we suffer and we mourn. We have suffered. We have mourned. We hope. However desolating our grief, we cannot live without hope. "Our hope is not destroyed."

That American Jewry be united through this Conference is not enough. It must be united with Jews the world over, reforging the old bonds with the reenforced and unlost Jewish population of the Soviet Union and eager to act with, not merely for, the reviving Jews of the Axis lands. For them that have survived and may survive, let the report of this Conference serve as tonic, stimulus, revival. Their hurt at the hand of Hitler does not unfit them for comradeship and

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counsel with us, their free and happier brothers, who, but for the Grace of God and our fathers' earlier migrations, would be they. Hitler's unpitied victims have not ceased to be our beloved and honored blood-brothers, to be heeded, to be revered, to be cherished.

Within this chamber I behold the spirits of the millions slain. These plead with us not for revenge--for sufferance hath too long been the badge of all our tribo, --but for other and nobler acts, that we, like them, may choose death rather than the shame of desertion of the God of Israel. If the United Nations and we could not save them, these shall now save their and our brothers who may yet be saved. The only redress and reparation the martyrs seek are freedom and justice and peace at last for all mankind, a world wherein the great nations and the great faiths, led by Christianity, shall nevermore endure such a Jewish holocaust as the Hitler horror. This assurance may be granted by stamping out the evil forces out of which grew the shame of history's most terrible Jewish slaughter.

I behold the tear-stained survivors, few in number, who have lost all but life and honor, and these place their trust in us. For these are confident that our sorrowful guardianship invites and will avail itself of their mature wisdom and tragic experience. These shall not be set aside as merely pitiable victims, to be fed and clothed and sheltered as our wards, but, however terrible and exigent their needs, to be counselled with as brothers, for the metal of their Jewish loyalty has been tempered by passing through the fires of almost unpitied torture and wholly unredressed wrong.

Within this chamber are gathered, too, not only some hundreds of chosen representatives of American Jewry but millions by whom these have been directly or indirectly chosen. Out of a heart of deepest sorrow, these, our fellow-Americans, invisible but not inaudible to our spirits, plead with us to deal wisely as American Jews, soborly, courageously and nobly with the problems of the Jew in a new and free world. One of the wisest, noblest of American Jews has phrased it: "It is only by our own efforts and endoavor, by our confidence in the rightness of our purposes and in our own power, if fully organized, that we have the means of accomplishing our aims:" Unless we are resolved to face the task with such sustained wisdom as may God give us, with such a noble vision and purpose as the hour demands, let us relinquish the task to other hands. To that task, to that burden, we solemnly resolve that we shall not be unequal. Israel Zangwill once said: "We are a people of lost opportunities." This Conference is to proclaim that we are a people of unlost opportunities. Such be the meaning of this Conference.

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I have not chosen to anticipate the program which only this Conference can adopt after the fullest consideration and fairest discussion. But viewing the record of the speaker, he will not be expected to refrain from adverting upon that which may be arguable from some points of view, withal has come to constitute a glory to the whole Jewish people,—not merely an unparalleled achievement of the Jewish population of Palestine.

Two years ago and less Palestine stood under the shadow and terror of Nazi invasion. Whatever the virtually neutral Arab population might or might not have done, our brother Jews, men and women alike, were ready to do and dare all in defense of freedom and the cause of the United Nations, including Palestine. The brilliant feat of the Alexander-Montgomery armies, not without Jewish participation, averted that Rommel peril. In all the vast Arab complex of populations and territories and amid its kingdoms, great and small, that of Palestine, which is Jewish, stood out alone in passionate and unreserved support of freedom's cause as safeguarded by the United Nations.

In the meantime a policy has been continued in respect to Palestine by the Mandatory Government upon which Britain and the free world set their stamp of disapproval when appeasement was finally rejected in September 1939. The White Paper of the Spring of that year is the last vestige of that unhappy and unworthy policy. Despite the repudiation of appeasement its spirit and its letter, alas, still obtain in Palestine and this, too, although the greatest of disasters has befallen the Jewish people, resulting first in exile and later in horror throughout Hitler Europe.

The humane and generous thing for the Mandatory Government would have been, in frank disregard of the appeasement-dictated White Paper survival of the pre-Churchillian regime, to open the gates of Palestine to Jewish exile, even though parallel action might have become necessary on the part of England and America within the law. No act of relief on the part of the United Nations will seem sincere or be worthwhile as long as the gates of Palestine threaten to close. Whatever we may hope and plan is to be the future status of Palestine, and there may be room for discussion, its gates must not be closed. There must be Jewish migration under Mandatory and Jewish control, under the direction and supervision of that Jewish Agency which is instrument of and by covenant confederate to the Mandatory Power.

Herzl beheld only the glorious ideal of Zionism; but he truly forefelt the mournful necessity, to use his own term, which is become the lot of continental Jewry, truly the only hope of the surviving less than 3,600,000 Jews of the Europe that is. Much has been made of a word uttered by one of the responsible

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Jew in Palestine incapable of deeds of despair, if driven to the extreme of exasperation by a decision to persevere in what is a cruelly unjust policy."

Who would wish Jews to be incapable of deeds of despair? Such deeds, for example, as were performed by the glorious heroes and heroines of the last Jewish stand at Warsaw? Only cowardly, self-hating, self-obliterative Jews!

Even deeds of despair are treasonable to such as will to die and not to live.

Whatever the decision of this Conference in relation to Palestine, let us so bear curselves within these walls that deeds of despair shall not be needed in Palestine. But if such deeds be done, they must be decepted by us as inexorable as is our centuried story. It must have been deeds of despair that called forth from the Psalmist his immortal word:— "For the sake of Zion I will not be silent."

Today, after the lapse of twenty-five centuries, "I will not be silent" means I will not be inert, I will not be passive, I will not be non-resistant.

The tragedy of tragedies that has been and, alas, still is changes the character and content of this Conference. It was organized with a view to two major objectives: The rights and status of Jews in the post-war world; the implementation of the rights of the Jewish people with respect to Palestine; the choice of those who would purque and prosecute these objectives to the end in connection with the after victory conference or conferences.

But a new and more, indeed most, immediate objective presses itself upon this body of American Jews, --sclemnly to demand of the United Nations that not another hour he lost in rescuing from the lands in the hands of Hitler the remaining Jews, the less than 3,000,000 survivors of the 8,000,000 Jews who lived in pre-Hitler Europe. Further delay in rescue would doubtless mean that there would be no Jews to save in what was Hitler Europe. Never was it truer that a way, the way, the ways of rescue will be found, provided the United Nations, led by our own, have the will to reseme our harmssed, despoiled, tortured brothers. Such rescue of the surviving may in part redeem the world's shame of the years, 1933 - 1939. Throughout these years every manner of pameless crime was committed against our brothers with none save a handful of Christians such as Cardinals Faulhaber and Mundelein, the Archbishop of Canterbury and Dr. Cadman, to plead angel-tongued for the victims of the devils of extermination.

Bermuda may, at doubtful best, have been a beginning. The Inter-governmental Committee of Refugees, led by London and Washington, if summoned at once, may prove to be a second step. Is it necessary in the face of one of the nearly consummated crimes of history to insist that there be no further and fatal delay, that the United Nations avert Jewish destruction by every method of rescue! There are many

such, as the Joint Emergency Committee for Eucopean Jewish Affairs has pointed out by which the United Nations, with the help of the no longer undecided and hesitating Neutrals, can rescue the elsewise doomed civilian victims, including women, children, aged men. Let not the unjust reproach be incurred that more could and would have been done if the threatened and endangered had not been Jews! This was too terrible a reflection upon the professions and principles and practices of the United Nations, and above all upon the moral quality of our own nation and its leadership.

As a mouthpiece of the Conference in its opening hour, I choose to register my unchanged faith in the Lincoln-like humanity of the foremost leader of free men in the world today, Franklin Delano Roosevelt. This body of delegated and widely representative American Jews, dedicated to the triumph of our Nation's cause, declares its deep and unchangeable confidence in the integrity and goodwill of its Commander-in-Chief. This Conference trusts that, in response to the deepest promptings of humanity and in compliance with the will of the American people, our President, together with Prime Minister Churchill, will insist upon the acceleration of the tempo of rescue and take the lead in performing the supremely imperative task of Jewish roscue with that unwithstandable resolve which is become the habit of their great sculs.

This Conference should deputize a small group of its members to confer with the President during the period of the Conference so that it may be in direct touch with our country's President and Commander-in-Chief and receive from him such healing assurance as will satisfy the heart of the American Jewish community and our broken brothers across the seas that nothing will be left undone to save in one or another way the limited number of the surviving whom prompt rescue alone can keep from joining the armies of the Jewish dead.

Yesterday, in the Synagogue, the words were read:-"Behold, I set before you this day a blessing and a curse." The evil and the curse have been throughout this bitter and awful year. The good and the blessing may be if we here resolve that what our dead, the innumerable army of our dead, ask of us is only what a self-reverencing people may be and do and achieve, the reparation of security for the living in a world of freedom. Such blessing may it be ours to help to gain for all our people!

This is the soul of goodness in things evil, would we but knowingly distill it out. The soul of goodness to be distilled out of the evil of the past year is not merely the physical rescue of the surviving, but the unity of Jewish life in our country, striving earnestly and devoutly for the deliverance and the unchallenged freedom of the Jewish people wherever they may dwell. "Behold, I set before you this day a blessing and a curse." We choose the blessing for our country and for Israel.

ADDRESS OF HONORABLE JOSEPH M. PROSKAUER, PRESIDENT OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

At Meeting of American Jewish Conference, Sunday Evening, August 29, 1943

With deep pleasure and satisfaction I join with my colleagues in the presidium to bid each and every one of you a hearty welcome to this American Jewish Conference.

After the moving words which you have just heard, I am sure there arises in the mind of each of us the thought that there are few other places on earth where a group of Jews could assemble as we do tonight. Here in this blessed America where, under the Divine Providence, we have indeed won a new birth of freedom, we enjoy with all others the right of assemblage, and we meet here for the purpose of giving aid, succor and comfort to our suffering brethren in lands overseas. And we undertake this task heartened by the confidence that, with the freedom and security we enjoy as American citizens, we may really be able to accomplish the enormous task which this crisis demands of us.

We should understand the full import of the tragic picture that has been presented to us. Since our forefathers wept by the waters of Babylon, we Jews have endured the lash of the torturer and the sword of the executioner; but never before in history have we witnessed a cruelty so barbaric as that inflicted by the savagery of Hitler. We should remember, too, that, as has been aptly said, when Hitler began his attack on the Jews he declared war on civilization itself. His cruelty has fallen

on priest and pastor and rabbi, until it has become abundantly clear that hie attack is on religion itself and all that we have come to regard as the essence of our civilization. And so we can fairly urge that, while Jews to the number of millions have been the chief victims of the Nazi regime, we Jews have an added right to call upon the conscience of every faith to stamp out this recurrence to the barbarism of the darkest ages, and to redress the frightful wrongs which have been inflicted. Truly we have witnessed the spectacle of man's inhumanity to man that has made the countless millions mourn.

In the notice of the calling of this Conference, it was referred to as an historic meeting, and indeed it is within its power to be of historic service to our brethren. It is my devout hope that it will be a success in the sense that it will develop a common program for this crisis to which the universal support of American Jewry will be accorded. Never before, I think, has there been so great a yearning in American Jewry for this unity of conduct. One basic reason for this is the horror of the foreign scene which has been portrayed to us. Another reason is that on the domestic scene we have in the last few years seen the continuance and the growth of organized anti-Semitic movements which have shocked the conscience not only of Jewry but of all rightthinking Americans. These organized movements have been clearly identified now as the first line of attack of Fascism on America. Just as the anti-Semitic ery was raised first by Hitler as an entering wedge, so these disciples of darkness in America have invoked bigotry and prejudice as the first step in the fright against the American way of life. And the impulse of self-preservation and the preservation of our American ideals requires that we use here every effort to avoid schism and to achieve cooperation. For here, as always,

New what is the return of this writer which was all and conquer.

Now what is the nature of this unity which we all seek? Certainly no one can expect that we will all think alike and believe alike in our ultimate faiths. We have stood out from time immemorial for the right of the individual to follow the dictates of his own conscience. By the same token none of us longer believes that we should excommunicate our Spinozas or our Uriel Acostas. We cannot all be orthodox; we cannot all be reform; we cannot all be conservative; we cannot all be Zionists or non-Zionists or Revisionists. But what we can do is to take counsel together and work out for this emergency which confronts us a program to which all right—thinking Jews can adhere.

We are not legislating; we are not decreeing for all the future; we are trying to create a program to submit to those who shall frame the terms of peace, and surely they will heed us more readily if we speak and act together. We must ask no man to sacrifice a principle. We must ask no one to be false to an ultimate belief, but I suggest to you that the great effective compromises of history have been compromises on immediate conduct and not on ultimate ideologies. And I am sure that all of us will cooperate in a spirit of brotherhood, of friendliness, and I hope of statesmanship, to work out such a course of conduct as will enable us to close this Conference a band of brothers working for a common objective to submit to those who will make the terms of peace.

What is the method, then, by which we should endeavor to reach this objective and to redress the frightful wrongs which we have heard so eloquently described?

I suggest, my brethren, that the method should be in the first instance that we emphasize not our differences but our agreements, and that we base our action not on the conflicts but on the great concords and the great

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achievements of American Jewry.

For there is an enormous area on which we are all agreed: We agree that the United Nations should give relief from the havoe and ruin inflicted by Axis barbarism on its millions of victims; that the processes of redress and rehabilitation be largely undertaken, as they must be, as governmental functions. We are as one in demanding the complete restoration and safeguarding of the equal civil and religious rights of Jews, as of all others. We stand together for the fundamental principle that Jewish citizens of every land shall be guaranteed the right of equality, so that, in the language of our Secretary of State, we shall have a world in which Jews, like all others, are free to abide in peace and in honor. Just as we all stood together against the revocation of the Cremieux Decrees and have no patience with considerations of expediency such as led to temporizing with that intelerable action, so we must demand the fundamental rights of citizenship as the inalienable rights of every Jew in every country in the world. And if these fundamental rights are denied to us, there will follow, as the night the day, the same kind of deprivation of civil and political and religious freedom in every land of every group that chances to be a minority.

We are trying to write a new chapter in the long struggle for the rights of Jews. As one who has fought that fight for many a long year until I can say that I have grown gray in the service of my people, I dare to view the future with optimism and with confidence. I recall the superb contribution of my revered predecessor in the presidency of the American Jewish Committee, the late Louis Marshall, when, with his co-workers, he faced 25 years ago a task like that which you and I face tonight. Then, too, there were differences of ideology; no man abandoned his principles, but all pulled together to achieve a great common good for Israel. Truly in the words of Isaiah; 'They helped everyone his brother, and everyone said to his brother,

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be of good courage. And I draw inspiration and courage, as I am sure every one of you will draw them, from the great wisdom, sacrifice and foresight which enabled men like Marshall and Brandeis, Wise and Mack, Warburg and Weizmann, and the many, many others to set aside differences and to achieve a program of joint action for Jewry.

We have a right to take sourage, also, from the great achievements of Jewish organizations at home and abroad in the task of rehabilitation. We are united in recognizing the superb achievement made by our people in Palestine, in our admiration for the skill and devotion which has transformed the desert into the farm, the factory, the vineyard and the orange grove. We rejoice to know that there are today 600,000 Jewish people living under their own vine and fig tree. Jews throughout the world, and particularly in America, regardless of their ideologies, have been glad and proud to help in this epic achievement. And there are many in this room numbered among those to whom Jewry owes a deep debt of gratitude for this superb oreation. We are as one in our concern for its preservation and upbuilding.

We look with pride on the great organizations that have functioned for the relief, the rescue and the rehabilitation of our brethren in so many quarters of the world. These organizations represent great achievement, and they are living demonstrations of the ability of Jews of all shades of belief to work together and to build together. One thinks of the far-flung activities of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, of the Hias, the Ort, the Hadassah in its Aliyah work, and of many other organizations.

Yes, we Jews have learned to work together, and there is abundant proof mearer home - in the Federations, the Welfare Funds of the various communities, in the theological institutions and the various cultural organizations that enrich our Jewish life. All this teaches us the lesson that we have done yeoman service for Jewry in all its needs in the past, and justifies the prophecy that we

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can do it in the future without compromise of one's deepest faith and convictions.

And there is another significance in the lesson of this cellaboration. I have spoken of the necessary resettlements and rehabilitations that must follow this most destructive of wars. So wast has been this destruction, that these processes of re-creation assume proportions so great that they constitute a new and unprecedented problem for mankind. So titanic are the problems involved, so global are they in their nature, that we must enlist in their solution the active participation of the governments of the United Nations. These great agencies which I have mentioned, and of which we are so proud, will play their part, but basically the enterprise must be undertaken by the United Nations themselves.

Already under the leadership of President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill a significant beginning has been made. And here, too, is another call for us to act unitedly in urging the development of this great step forward by which the United Nations will, through governmental action, rebuild a world of peace and of humanity.

My friends, we are in this Conference fellow Jews and brethren. None of us is seeking to impose an intransigent will upon another. And while I have stressed the importance of unity of conduct, this unity must be built in the area of our agreements. We cannot achieve this unity if any man is forced to act contrary to his principles. Under the terms of the organization of this Conference, we are all free agents; but that does not mean that we shall do less than our utmost to reach accord. Each of us has, according to his conscience, chosen the path along which he seeks to walk humbly with his God.

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But, laying aside for the moment questions of ideology, all our paths lead to the same goal. The fundamental passion which animates us all is the preservation of Jewry, and the preservation of the democratic way of life.

In the blood of each and every one of us is the law of Moses, the song of Miriam, the might of the Macabees, the music of the psalmist and, as I pray, the wisdom of the Proverbs.

Ardently we believe that Judaism has been a most potent and determinative element in the development of civilization, and I hold the faith that Judaism and the Jewish tradition remain vitally a force in the development of that culture, that morality, that rightness which through the ages has raised, and will hereafter for ages raise man from the beast nearer and nearer to the image of his Creator. That is why I so deeply hope that in this Conference we shall find the way to preserve this force of Judaism for the support and betterment of this great America of our love, for the advangement of the civilization of the world, and for the perpetuation of those great truths to which we all give devotion.

Finally, I voice the prayer that we may here devise a program to which every Jew may give adherence for the preservation of all that we hold dear in Jewish life and for the maintenance of the great traditions of Israel.

Fervently we pray and work for victory and a just peace; fervently we pray and work for unity in this Conference. If we can achieve that, we shall have done our part to realize the ancient prophecy of our people, the coming of the time when the sword shall be beaten into the plowshare and the spear into the pruning-hook, and when all the nations shall proclaim that the Eternal is one and His name is one.

RESOLUTION ON PALESTINE

ADOPTED BY THE PALESTINE COMMITTEE OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE AND SUBMITTED BY DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER OF CLEVELAND, CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMITTEE TO THE PLENARY SESSION ON WEDNESDAY EVENING SEPTEMBER 1, 1943 at 8:30 P.M.

We, Jewish citizens of the United States dwelling in security in this our beloved land, which, because of its democratic institutions and just laws "gives to bigotry no sanction and to persecution no assistance," and dedicated in undivided loyalty to the noble spirit of our country, are gathered here as an American Jewish Conference, a democratically elected body representative of American Jewry to cope with the tragic problems of our fellow Jews all over the world. We make the following declaration of principles as to the relation between the Jewish people, the Homeland in Palestine and the world need for post-war reconstruction.

The Jewish problem has been made one of the central elements in the present assault on cinvilization. In a world wide Nazi-Fascist conspiracy its exploitation has constituted the initial phase of the assault. Its solution is an integral part of the conditions needed for an enduring peace.

In the first world war, the civilized nations pointed to a solution of the Jewish problem through the reconstruction of the Jewish Homeland in Palestine with which the Jewish people has been bound up historically and religiously throughout the centuries. This was expressed in the Balfour Declaration issued by the British Government, after consultation between the Allied and Associated Powers, on November 2, 1917, and in the Mandate for Palestine accorded to Great Britain in 1922, with the consent of the fifty-one member nations of the League of Nations and with the unanimous approval of the Congress of the United States.

On the basis of this international covenant the Jewish people set itself to the task of recreating its historic Homeland in Palestine. In the course of twenty-five years, it has demonstrated a constructive capacity which has already had a profound effect both on the hopes and outlook of the Jewish people, and on a country which had for centuries been regarded as one of the derelict areas of the world. The progress of all sections of Palestine, Arabas well as Jewish, under the stimlus of the developing Jewish Homeland is one of the most notable phenomena of our time; the contribution of democratic Jewish Palestine to the victories of the armies of the United Nations in the Near East has been a significant vindication of the policy initiated by world opinion and carried out in the labors and sacrifices of the Jewish people.

tion of world order and international morality. Chief among the victims of this deterioration have been the millions of Jews in Europe. Yet despite the fact that the conditions which made imperative the re-establishment of the Jewish Homeland a quarter of a century ago have been intensified beyong the darkest forebodings, the rights internationally guaranteed to the Jewish people with respect to Palestine have been progressively whittled down on grounds of administrative and political expediency until, with the promulgation of the White Paper of May 1939, the solemn promise made to the Jewish people was virtually nullified and the last hope of millions of homeless Jews threatened with extinction.

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The American Jewish Conference, meeting at a time when the policies of the peace are in the making, and conscious of its historic responsibility and of its position as representative of American Jewry and spokesman for the silenced Jewish communities of Europe, calls for the loyal and faithful fulfillment of the covenint entered into between the nations of the world and the Jewish people.

We call for the fulfillment of the Balfour Declaration, and of the Mandate for Palestine whose intent and underlying purpose, based on the "historical connection of the Jewish people with Palestine", was to reconstitute Palestine as the Jewish Commonwealth.

Palestine White Paper of May 1939 with its unwarranted restrictions on Jewish immigration and land settlement. The White Paper is a violation of the rights accorded to the Jewish people under the Mandate for Palestine. It was characterized by Mr. Winston Churchill' in the House of Commons as "a breach and a repudiation of the Balfour Declaration". The Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations refused to recognize its legality or its moral validity.

The Conference demands that the gates of Palestine be opened to Jewish immigration, and that the Jewish Agency, recognized under the Mandate as the authorized representative of the Jewish people, be vested with authority to direct and regulate immigration into Palestine, to develop to the maximum the agricultural and industrial possibilities and the natural resources of the country, and to utilize its uncultivated and unoccupied lands for Jewish colonization and for the benefit of the country as a whole.

The measures here urged constitute the essential pre-requisites for the attainment of a Jewish majority and for the re-creation of the Jewish Commonwealth.

In the pursuit of its objective of a Jewish Commonwealth, the Jewish people has steadfastly held before it the ideals which shall integrate Jewish Palestine within the new democratic world structure. The Jewish people pledges itself to scrupulous regard for and preservation of the religious, linguistic and cultural rights of the Arab population of Palestine, and to the civil and religious equality of all its inhabitants before the law. The inviolability of the Holy Places of the various religions shall be guaranteed.

The Jewish people reaffirms its readiness and desire for full cooperation with its Arab neighbors in Palestine, and, in the work of its own national redemption, welcomes the economic and political development of the Arab peoples of the Near East.

On the basis both of the part it has played in the history of civilization, and of its present achievement in Palestine, the Jewish people believes that the Jewish Commonwealth to be established will represent another fundamental contribution to the social and political ideals of the world. It will finally answer the agonized cry of the

most martyred of peoples, and enable it to take its rightful place in that progressive order of mankind which, we pray, may issue from the present struggle.

PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE 35039

POLITICAL STATUS OF THE JEWS IN THE POST WAR WORLD

I. INTERNATIONAL BILL OF RIGHTS

The catastrophewhich has overwhelmed the Jews of Europe has its roots in the international anarchy which contributed to the assault of the Axis powers on civilization. No people anywhere can hope to establish its life on permanent foundations of security and justice unless the same fundamental rights are accorded equally to all.

We earnestly hope that a world order based on the Four Freedoms and the Atlantic Charter, will also find its expression in an International Bill of Rights embodying;

- 1. Full and complete protection of life and liberty for all inhabitants of all countries without distinction of birth, mationality, language, race or religion.
- 2. Unequivocal equality of rights in law and in fact for all the citizens of every country.
- 3. The inalienable right of all religious, ethnic and cultural groups to maintain and foster their respective group identities on the basis of equality.

II. OUTLAWING ANTI_SEMITISM

Anti-Semitism was a major instrument used by the Nazis in the establishment of a totalitarian regime in Germany and as a spearhead in the warfare against the democracies of the world. Anti-Semitism is incompatible with the democratic way of life and threatens the freedom and the very existence of liberty-loving peoples throughout the world and consequently undermines the foundations of civilized order.

Anti-Semitism as an instrument of internal and international policy, should be outlawed. In order to be made effective, this outlawing should be implemented by international conventions and national legislation.

III. MACHINERY

We urge that proper and adequate machinery be established to effect and safeguard these objectives.

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IV. TRANSITION FROM WAR TO PEACE

A survey of conditions created in Axis controlled or occupied countries, among which are countries of age-long Jewish settlements, reveals the undeniable fact that in addition to sharing all the disabilities suffered by their non-Jewish fellow citizens, Jews have been singled out for ruth-less extermination. We therefore urge that special attention be given by the United Nations to the distinctive Jewish problems created by this policy in their application by the United Nations of the following measures to repair the ravages caused by the war.

- 1. Immediate abrogation with retroactive effect of all measures discriminating on racial, religious, or political grounds against any section of the population, including all acts of denaturalization.
- 2. Recognition of the right of all refugees, deportees, and other victims of Axis persecution, if they desire to do so, to return to their places of de facto residence and to the opportunities of which they have been deprived, and provision of financial and other measures enabling them to do so.
- 3. Recognition of the right to indemnification for all those who have suffered the loss of property and/or livelihood as a result of discriminatory measures, including the loss of communal property by Jewish organizations, such indemnification to be a charge on public funds.
- 4. Detention of persons charged with crimes againt international law and humanity, such crimes to be understood to include all acts committed by the Nazis and their followers, designed to despoil, degrade and destroy civilian populations under their control, and the completion of arrangements for the trial of such persons immediately following the cessation of hostilities in accordance with procedures agreed upon by the governments of the United Nations.

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V. RELIEF, REHABILITATION, and RECONSTRUCTION

- 1. The Conference calls the attention of the United Nations to the distinctive needs for relief, rehabilitation, and reconstruction of the Jewish population in the war-stricken areas. These needs result from systematic starvation, forced labor, continuous, deportations, forced segregations, appalling housing conditions, withholding of medical care, and the closing of Jewish hospitals with the consequent spread of diseases and epidemics.
- 2. We urge the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation agencies to give earnest attention to these special needs. We are confident that in the feeding, clothing and sheltering of the stricken population, the checking and preventing the further spread of epidemics and disease, the caring for children orphaned or separated from their parents, the reuniting of scattered families, and the aiding of deportees in their repatriation or emigration, these agencies will deal with the Jewish populations in a spirit of equity and urgency. We are further confident that provision will be made for such specific Jewish needs as the liberation of Jews from ghettos, reservations, and concentration areas, as well as for the observance of their ritual requirements.
- 3. Moreover, it is clear that in connection with those measures which will be taken with a view to the speedy restoration of normal conditions in every liberated country, the problems of the Jewish population must be treated in a spirit of equity. Accordingly we urge:
- a. Such Jews as may be able to return to their former occupations should be given ample opportunity to do so.
- b. In the case of those who cannot resume their former occupations, measures should be provided for their economic retraining and reorientation, consideration being given to their special experience and skill.
- c. Facilities should be provided for the reestablishment of Jewish religious, communal, educational, and welfare organizations.
- d. There must be recognition of the right of every Jew who desires to settle in Palestine to emigrate and take his possessions with him.

RESOLUTION

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RESCUE COMMITTEE

More than three million Jews have been done to death by the blood stained Nazi tyranny and the four million Jews who survive in Axis Europe live daily in the shadow of an inexorable doom. The American Jewish Conference solemnly declares that if the Nazis and their accomplices are permitted to achieve their avowed purpose, which is the total destruction of Jewish life in the territories under their control, civilization will have suffered an over-whelming disaster beyond the power of victory to repair. Military victory cannot recall a murdered people from their mass graves.

The Conference records its deep concern that, four months after the Bermuda Conference, and eight months after the Collective Declaration of the United Nations condemning the mass murder of the Jewish people in Europe, the democracies have as yet failed to institute sustained and vigorous action to rescue those who may yet be saved. The position remains unchanged, save that in the meantime many additional tens of thousands of Jews have been hurried to unnatural death.

The Conference asks in the name of the common faith in the Fatherhood of God and of the ideals for which the United Nations are fighting that the Governments shall recognize that a distinctive Jewish problem has been created in Europe which imposes an inescapable moral obligation on the democracies, and that such moral obligation must find expression in special practical measures which must be commensurate with the gravity and urgency of the situation. The Conference accordingly urges that the following measures be taken immediately:

- 1. A solemn warning addressed by the leaders of the democracies to the Axis governments and their satellites must make it clear that the instigators of crimes against the Jews, as well as the accomplices and agents of the criminals, will be brought to justice; that all who prevent the release of Jews from Axis captivity and their departure to havens of refuge will be punished for their complicity in the policy of extermination; and that resistance to the policy of extermination and aid given to victims of Nazi policy will be taken into consideration on the day of reckening.
- 2. This warning should be given force and substance by the immediate constitution of the Allied Commission on War Crimes in London which, though its formation was announced nearly a year ago, has not yet met. And it should be a primary task of the Commission to bring home to the people of Germany the enormity of the crimes committed in their name and the certainty of retribution.
- 3. The democracies should recognize and proclaim the right of temporary asylum for every surviving Jewish man, woman and child who can escape from the Hitlerite fury into the territories of the United Nations.

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4. There should be public acknowledgment of the right of every Jewish refugee who can reach Palestine not only to find a haven but to establish his permanent home in that country.

- 5. The neutral nations bordering on Axis occupied territories should be encouraged by financial help, by additional supplies and by appropriate guarantees on the ultimate disposal of the refugees brought into their territories, to secure the release of Jews, especially children, and give them hospitality in their own lands or the right of transit to havens of refuge.
- 6. A special intergovernmental agency should be created which, working in consultation with Jewish organizations, should be provided with the resources and armed with the authority to seize every opportunity to send supplies through appropriate channels, provide the means for Jewish self-defense and coordinate and expand the work of rescue through the underground.

The Conference recognizes that all the victims of Nazi oppression, irrespective of race or faith, are entitled to aid and succor from the United Nations. But the situation of the Jews in Europe is unique in its tragedy. They have not only been more deeply wounded than any other people, but alone among all the subject communities they have been doomed to total destruction by an act of state. For every one of them - men, women and children - the alternative to rescue is deportation and death.

In the name of the Jews of America, the Conference respectfully addresses a most earnest appeal to the President of the United States not to suffer democracy to go down in defeat on the first front opened by Hitler in his war on civilization. The Conference affirms its faith that democracy has it in its power to deny victory on this front to Hitler and take the fate of the Jewish people in Europe out of his hands.

It is not yet too late. But time presses.

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CHAIRMAN LEVINTHAE: Ladies and gentlemen, the next speaker is Dr. Abba Hillel Silver.

(Applause)

DR. SILVER: My dear friends, the Jewish people is in danger of coming out of this war the most ravaged of peoples and the least healed and restored.

The stark tragedy of our ravage has been ghastly abundantly told here, clsewhere, tragic, unredeemed. To rehearse it again is only to flagellate one's self and to gash our souls again and again. But what of the healing? What is beyond the rim of blood and tears? Frankly, to some of us, nothing. We are being comforted at the moment with the hope that the Atlantic Charter and the Four Freedoms and victory will bring the healing of our people.

I am afraid that we are again sacrificing cool, albeit, bitter reasoning and logic, to keginning beguiling romancing in the void. We are again turning away from history to dreams and to Apocolypses which some of us amazingly enough choose to call realism and statesmanship.

The last World War made the world safe for democracy and granted the Jews of Central and Eastern Europe not only the rights of citizenship, but even minority rights. But you remember, or have you for gotten, it brought also in its wake the most thorougher going, brutal and annihilationist anti-Semitism that our people has ever experienced.

Have you already forgotten the story which between the two World Wars? Dare you forget it?

And now again, in the second World War, many Jews are hoping to achieve through another Allied Victory what an Allied Victory failed to give them after the last

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war, what a whole century of enlightenment, liberalism and progress failed to give them, peace and
security.

equality with immunity from economic and social pressures. The immemorial problem of our national homelessness, which is the principal source of our millenial tragedy remains a stark and as menacing today as it ever was. Yet some Jews are again trying to circumvent it with wishful thinking and to hide the real problem, the nettling, perplexing, insisting problem crying for expression and solution under the thick blanket of appeals to Jewish unity and Jewish affability.

It is a tragic fact which seems to escape so m ny students of anti-Semitism,—the story of Jewish emancipation in Europe from the day after the French Revolution to the day before the Nazi Revolution is the story of political positions captured in the face of stubborn and sullen oppositin which left our emancipated minority in each country encamped within an unbeaten and unreconciled oppositions, and at the slightest provocation, and as soon as things got out of order, the opposition returned to the attack and inflicted grievous wounds.

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And in our day, stirred by the political and economic struggles which have torn nations apart, this never-failing, never-reconciled opposition swept over the Jewish political and economic positions in Europe and completely demolished them. There is a stott block cord which connects the era of Fichte in Germany with its feral cry of hep, hep, and the era of Hitler with its cry of "Jude Verrecke." And so for the rest of you.

The Damascus affair of 1840 links up with the widespread reaction after the Revolution of 1848; the Mortara affair of Italy; the Christian Socialist Movement in the era of Bismarck; the Tisza-Ezlar affair in Hungary; the revival of blood accusations in Bohemia; the pogroms in the 80's in Russia; La France Juive and the Dreyfus affair in France; the pogroms of 1903; the Ukranian blood baths after the last war and the human slaughter houses of Pdand in this war.

This, my friends, is our persistent problem.

This is our immediate emergency which, unfortfnately,
has been immediate almost to every generation of our people
in almost every country. What we are confronted with today
is the frightful aggravation of a situation which has continuously darkened the pages of our history since the
beginning of our dispersion.

Now, what is the solution of this persistent emergency in Jewish life? There is but one solution for national homelessness, which is the source, I repeat, of our millenial tragedy. There is but one solution for national homelessness. That is a

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national home, not new immigration opportunities to other countries for fleeing refugees, f r new colonization schemes in other parts of the world, many of which were so hopefully attempted in the last few decades, down to our very own day, and with such little success.

The only solution is to normalize the political status of the Jewish people in the world by giving it a national basis in its national and historic home. The world finally came to acknowledge the validity of this solution.

In 1917 Great Britain issued the Balfour Declaration. This Declaration was not intended to be an immigrant aid scheme, an effort to open up a new avenue for Jewish immigration. Shortly before its issuance, and for many years prior thereto, Jews in very large numbers were finding opportunities for immigration in many parts of the world, especially in the Western Hemisphere.

The Balfour Declaration was a political national act designed to rebuild the national life of the Jewish people in its homeland.

Now, is this my interpretation or is that the interpretation of the Zionists only? Not at all.

It was the universally-accepted interpretation of the statements of the world and of those who were responsible in the first place for the issuance of this Declaration. They were thinking in terms of a Jewish Commonwealth, the Jewish Commonwealth, or, as many of them called it, the Jewish state was to be the natural outgrowth and evolution of the National Jewish Homeland.

Mr. Lloyd George was Prime Minister at the time the Declaration was issued. He spoke of a Jewish Commonwealth. President Wilson in 1919 stated:

"I am persuaded that the Allied Nations, with the fullest concurrence of our government and people, are agreed that in Palestine shall be laid the

foundations of a Jewish Commonwealth.

General Smuts, who had been a member of the Imperial War Cabinet when the Declaration was published, declared in 1919 that he envisaged an increasing stream of Jewish immigration into Palestine and in generations to come a great Jewish state rising there once more.

The great Winston Churchill, when he was Secretary of State in 1920, declared -- and these are beautiful words +-

"If, as may well happen, there should be created in our lifetime by the banks of the Jordan a Jewish State under the protection of the British Crown, which might comprise three million or four million Jews, an event will have occurred in the history of the world which would from every point of view be beneficial and would be especially in harmony with the truest interests of the British Empire."

And how did our American Jews in those days interpret that document? When the First American Jewish Congress met in Philadelphia in 1918 -- and this has already been pointed ut, but I repeat it to drive my point home, and it is the only point which I wish to make this evening -- when the first American Jewish Congress met after the last war, 25 years ago, a Congress in which Zionists and non-Zionists participated, as in this Conference, it elected a delegation to represent American Jewry at the Peac Conference, and the delegation was given instructions formulated as follows: -- and this was the first item formulated:

"They were to copperate with the representatives of other Jewish organizations, specifically with the World Zionist Organization, to the end that the Peace Conference might recognize the aspirations and historic claims of the Jewish people in regard to Palestine and might declare, in accordance with the British Government's Declaration, that there should be established such

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political, administrative and economic conditions in Palestine as would assure, under the trusteeship of Great Britain, acting on behalf of such a League of Nations as might be formed, the development of Palestine into a Jewish Commonwealth."

why has there arisen among us today this mortal fear of the term "Jewish Commonwealth," which both British and American statesmen took in their stride, as it were, and which our own fellow-Jews of both camps endorsed a quarter of a century ago?

Why are anti-Zionists or non-Zionists, or neutrals -- why are they determined to excise that phrase and I suspect in some instances at least, the hope?

Why are they asking us on the plea of unity to surrender a basic political concept which was so much a part of the whole pattern of the Balfour Declaration? I suspect that because they, or some of them, or most of them, have never really reconciled themselves to the fact both of the Declaration and of the Mandate.

They would like to forget about them or have the world forget about them or wish them out of existence. Of course, they have no objections to Jews going to Palestine, any more than they would have any objections to Jews going to New Zealand, to Australia or any ther part of the world.

It is amazing to me, I frankly confess,
that Jews are moved to applaud a fellow-Jew when he
consents that Jews should have the right to go to
Palestine. (Laighter) Once having made this
monumental encession that Jews have a right to go
to Palestine and that that right should not be
restricted, they feel justified in asking the Zionists

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to make a little concession of their own, just a little concession, afairman namely, to surrender that for which they and their fathers hoped and prayed through the centuries and which is already in the process of fulfillment — af a Commonwealth of Pelestine. (Applause)

We are told that our insistence on this
Jewish Commonwealth is an insistence on an ideology,
and why should one create disunity in the ranks of
American Israelover an Ideology?

In all sincerity, friends, I ask you — and think along with me — is it an ideology? Is the natural, normal instinct of a homeless people to find a home for itself after centuries of homelessness and to lead a normal, natural existence, an ideology? Is it an ideology for an Englishmen to want an England, or for a Frenchman to want a France, a Free France, and when exiled from it to wish ardently to return to it?

Why, is it an idealogy for the people of

Israel to want the Land of Israel, from which it had been driven centuries ago and so lost its peace and its rest and its joy of life?

Was it an ideology which kept alive the hope our peoples of national restoration among anxious for 19 centuries?

Was it not rather the hard, cruel facts of our existence, written and repeated, exiles, massacres, pogroms, indignities, all the way along the black stout cord of disaster, never broken from 1917 to 1943?

We are not insisting on ideologies; we are insisting on the faithful fulfillment of obligations internationally assumed towards our people and on the honoring of covenants made with us. We ask for nothing new; it is they who tell us to surrender these demands

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which have already been acknowledged in international sanctions. It is they who are motivated by ideologies, (Applause) It is they who are forcing the not we. reopening of a question which should have in all conscience been closed in 1917.

So, my good friends, we are not concerned here with ideologies. The reconstitution of the Jewish people as a nation in its homeland is not a playful political conceit of ours, a sort of intellectual thing calculated to satisfy some national vanity of ours. It is the cry of despair of a people driven to the wall, fighting for its very life. It is the pressing urgency of instant and current suffering and of the besetting dangers and disabilities today and, I am afraid, tomorrow.

From the infested typhus-ridden Ghettos of Wersaw. From the death block of Nazi-occupied lands where pyramids of our people are awaiting execution by the slow or the quick method, from a hundred concentration camps which befoul the map of Europe, from the pitiful ranks of our wandering hosts over the entire face of "Enough; there must be a the earth, comes the cry: final end to all this, a sure and certain end."

How long is the crucifixion of Israel to Time and again we have been stretched upon last? the rack for ther peoples' sins. Time and again we have made the whipping boy for blundering governments. the scapegoat for defeat in war, for misery and de-

pressions, for conflict among classes. How long is it to last? Are we forever to live a homeless people on the world's crumbs of sympathy, forever in need of defenders, forever doomed to thoughts of refugees and relief? Should not, I ask you fellow-Jews, ought not, the incalculable and unspeakable suffering of our people and the ceans of blood which we have shed in this war and in all the wars martyrs of our people, of the centuries, the myriad

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as well as the magnificent

heroism and the vast sacrifices of our brave soldier sons
who are today fighting on all the battle fronts of the world -should not all this be compensated for finally and at long
last with re-establishment of a free Jewish commonwealth.

(The audience arose and applauded.)

today not reaching out so desparately and so pathetically for a new world order of justice? Should we not be included in that world order of justice? Are we not deserving of it? I am for unity in Israel, but unity for what? It is strange. Frequently, I am bewildered. If I agree with certain people, that's unity. If I ask them to agree with me, that is disunity. (Laughter and applause.)

I am for unity in Israel, for the realization of the total program of Jewish life. Relief, rescue, reconstruction, and the national restoration in Palestine. (Applause.) I am not for unity on a fragment of the program, for a fragment of the program is a betrayal of the rest of the program and a tragic futility besides. (Applause.) We can not truly rescue the Jews of Europe unless we have free immigration into Palestine. We can not have free immigration into Palestine unless our political rights are recognized there. Our political rights cannot be recognized there unless our historic connection with the country is acknowledged and our right to rebuild, our national home is reaffirmed. These are inseparable links in the chain. The whole chain breaks if one of the links is missing. Do not beguile yourselves. Do not let anyone beguile you with the thought that the Arabs in Palestine or the colonial office, for that matter, which at the moment seems to be synonymous -- that the Arabs in Palestine will

consent to large scale immigration into Palestine as soon as we give up our idea of a Jewish commonwealth. They are not that naive, they are opposed both to a Jewish commonwealth and to Jewish immigration.

If we surrender our national and historic claim to Palestine and rely solely on the refugee philanthropic appeal, we shall lose our case as well as do violence to the historic hopes of our people. On the basis of sheer philanthropy of, of satisfying pressing immigration needs, Palestine has already done its full share for Jewish refugees. It has taken in more than one-half of the total Jewish refugees of the world, and the Palestine Arabs and their sympathizers in England and here have been quick to point out that Palestine has already done all that can be expected from small country and far more than most of the larger counties have done. It is because Palestine is the Jewish homeland that we have the right to insist upon unrestricted immigration. It is because of the historic connection of the Jewish people with that land of the mandatory government in the first place undertook to reconstitute it as a national home and pledged itself to facilitate Jewish immigration and the close settlement of the Jews upon the land; in other words, it is on the national idea that the upbuilding of Palestine as a place of large scale Jewish immigration has always rested and can alone continue to rest. Our right to immigration in the last analysis is predicated upon the right to build the Jewish commonwealth in Palestine. They are interlinked and inseparable. To ask therefore, the Jewish people to abdicate the political positions which after centuries it finally acquired in Palestine, or by remaining silent about them, to suggest to the world that we have abandoned them, on the vain assumption that this would

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lead to the opening of the doors of Palestine, to largescale Jewish immigration is utterly fantastic. I am for unity, but here I must point out in all humility that unity of action in democratic organization depends not upon uanimity but upon the willingness of the minority to submit to the decisions of the majority. (Applause.)

It is folly to expect universal agreement among

five million Jews of America or among their chosen representatives here on all basic problems affecting Jewish life. It is folly to expect it. It is naive to anticipate it. However, this is no reason for avoiding these basic problems. This is no reason for preventing the majority from endorsing the program which the minority may not be inclined to endorse. If the overwhelming majority of the American Jewish people believe in the upbuilding of a Jewish commonwealth, they should have the right, through the medium of this solemn conclave, to say so and to make their demand upon the world. A strange thing has occurred here. We are asked not to relinquish our convictions but at the same time not to express them

The minority, if it is wise, as I believe it is, and responsible as I know that it is, and responsivers to the democratic process, will abide by the decision and accept the role of a loyal opposition. We are not a government and we have no authority to impose decisions, but there is a tremendous moral authority in a solemn conclave such as this of the chosen representatives of our people and when, after due deliberation it speaks in overwhelming endorsement of a certain program, it s decision ought not to be lightly disregarded. (Applause.)

I close with this word, my friends. Yishuv in Palestine has prayerfully appealed to us to uphold its hands. You have read it in the public press. Our Yishuv today is fighting a desperate fight against enemies which are stretched all the way from Jerusalem through Cairo, through newspaper offices in the city of New York (laughter). They are fighting a desperate fight against enemies who are organizing another conspiracy at the moment to strangle its further development and to extinguish the great hope of national freedom which has sustained the faith and courage of those splendid men and women who are building today the Jewish commonwealth. They have appealed to us, their brothers, and sisters in America, to approve of their struggle, to defend their rights and to appeal to the political leaders and statesmen of this great and free and blessed land to help them now in this, the approaching hour of decision, with the same sympathy and the same understanding as the presidents of the United States from Wilson down and the Congress of the United States helped them in the earlier years. I ask you good friends shall we let them down?

VOICES: No.

DR. SILVER: Shall we pass a Palestine Resolution

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here which will mention nothing about the historic Balfour

Declaration and its clear intent and underlying purpose, the upbuilding of the Jewish commonwealth?

VOICES: No.

VOICES: No.

DR. SILVER: Will it be perhaps our purpose to send a delegation to the Peace Conference with nothing more than an immigration aid plea, to let Jews go to Palestine as if Palestine were for us another Santo Domingo?

DR. SILVER: Are we to ask merely for the right of asylum in our historic home, the right which any people may claim in any part of the world, though, unfortunately, such claims are only infrequently recognized? Is this Jewish statesmanship? Is this Jewish vision, courage, faith, or are we to declare in this great assembly when the proper time comes that we stand by those who have given their tears and their blood and their sweat to build for them and for us and for the future generation, at long-last, after the weary centuries, a home, a national home, a Jewish commonwealth, where the spirit of our people can finally be at rest as well as the body of many of our persecuted people?

Are we going to take counsel here of fear of what this one or that one might say, of how our actions are likely to be misinterpreted; or are we to take counsel of our inner moral convictions, of our faith, of our history, of our achievements, and go forward in faith to build and to heal?

(The audience rose applauded and cheered and sang the "Hatikvah".)

CHAIRMAN LEVINTHAL: Ladies and gentlemen, I want to announce the session tomorrow afternoon at three o'clock

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will be devoted to a continuation of the discussions of the Palestine problem.

The speakers who were scheduled as the designated spokesmen of the various groups include Rabbi Maurice Eisengrad for the reformed group; Dr. Robert Gordis for the conservative group; Mrs. Judith Epstein for Hadassah Chaim Greenberg for the Labor Zionist group; Rabbi Wolf Gold for the Mizrachi National Religious group.

All committees will meet tomorrow morning at 9:50. The names and the rooms will be posted on the bulletin board.

This session is now adjourned.

(Whereupon, at 11:30 P. M., the session was adjourned.)

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A COMMON BASIS FOR ACTION THE TASK BEFORE AMERICAN JEWRY

Text of the Address by

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CHAIRMAN OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE FOR THE ORGANIZATION OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE AND PRESIDENT OF B'NAI B'RITH

At the opening session of

THE AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE

Sunday, August 29, 1943

Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, New York City

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HINEH MAH TOV UMAH NA IM SHEVET AHIM GAM YAHAD

"How good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell in unity."
Nathan Straus, of sainted memory, opened his address before the American
Jewish Congress, held in Philadelphia in December 1918 with this quotation.
It was appropriate on that occasion, as it is most appropriate now.

This Conference was made possible by the profound and earnest realization, on the part of the American Jewish community, of its sacred responsibility for the salvation and future fate of the people of Israel, in this, the most tragic period in our history;— it is the outgrowth of a desire to discharge that responsibility.

We are too prone to be content with eloquent phrase and rhetorical flourish as an outlet for our pent up emotions. This Conference, may I predict, will be more interested in practical measures than in speeches, more sealous about program and the means for its accomplishment, than in discussions of unimportant differences. Having regard for this attitude, your Chairman will endeavor to submit only such material as may be useful in your deliberations.

On this day, we may look back with gratification upon that fateful meeting held in Pittsburgh in January of 1943, attended by representatives of 32 national Jewish membership organizations with an approximate aggregate membership of 1,000,000 of our fellow Jews. The Pittsburgh meeting was a preliminary conference to consider the possibility of a common program of action in respect to the post-war status of the Jews and the upbuilding of a Jewish Palestine. Because it affords a perspective as to the difference in function between the Pittsburgh Conference and this Conference, I repeat the following brief quotation from the opening address at Pittsburgh:

We have come together not to adopt or propagandize for one or another post-war plan; not to issue or publish manifestos or proclamations in reference to the important role of Palestine in any such plan; but rather to take such preliminary steps as will result in a course of action and procedure calculated to accomplish the single objective, devoutly to be desired, of some basis of agreement between the diverse and conflicting groups that constitute the American Jewish community. American Jews, in collaboration with other Jewish communities of the free countries, will be required to assume a greater measure of responsibility than at any previous time in the long, dark history of the Jewish people, for the preservation of the remnant of Israel in the war devastated lands and for the establishment of an acceptable post-war status of Jews, after the United Nations shall have purged the world of the evil forces that have so sorely threatened the values - yes, the very existence - of our whole civilization.

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Even though the Pittsburgh Conference was primarily to establish a plan of procedure, there were at the outset important differences. These differences were resolved, however, because of the consciousness on the part of the representatives, that the fate of our people, if not their whole existence is dependent upon the united action of the American Jewish community.

Pursuant to the resolve of the Pittsburgh meeting, on May 22, 1943, the Executive Committee issued the call for this American Jewish Conference, from which I quote:

> "These crucial days may determine the position Jews are to occupy in organized society for generations to come. The relentless war that has been waged against us by Nazi-Germany and its allies has not only brought ruin and death to countless Jews, but it has wrecked the whole structure of rights in which Jews lived since the beginning of the period of emancipation.

"The hopes of the whole democratic world are turned to the United Nations in their effort to destroy the Common Enemy and to win Victory for the freedom of the individual man, equality for all peoples and faiths, and for international justice.

"In common with all men, we Jews have a vital stake in the general peace that is to come after Victory. The right of Jews to freedom, equality and justice should find place in the new world that will emerge when peace comes. The economic rehabilitation of Jewish life should be integrated in the plans for world reconstruction. And the rights of the Jewish people with respect to Palestine should be fully implemented.

"This situation makes imperative a reaffirmation on the part of the Jews of America of their duty to themselves and their fellow-Jews under oppression. The desirability of establishing a program of common action to deal with post-war Jewish problems has been recognized by all American Jewish groups."

The agenda of this Conference as adopted at the Pittsburgh Conference and as set forth in the call is:

- (a) To consider and recommend action on problems relating to the rights and status of Jews in the post-war world.
- (b) To consider and recommend action upon all matters looking to the implementation of the rights of the Jewish people with respect to Palestine.

(c) To elect a delegation to carry out the program of the American Jewish Conference in cooperation with the duly accredited representatives of Jews throughout the world.

There are now represented in the Conference 65 national Jewish membership organizations, by their selected delegates in the number of 125, and communities throughout the land, by their duly elected delegates in the number of 375. The delegates here assembled are vested with a serious and important responsibility. They hold a mandate from the Jews of America - they represent the conscience and are charged with the duty of expressing the views and the will of the largest and perhaps most vital Jewish community now remaining in this tragic and war-shattered world.

One of the essential virtues of this Conference is that it comprises leadership democratically chosen from the ranks of American Israel. It is the antithesis of the once prevalant practice of representation by "Stadlonim". The spirit of democracy and the development and appreciation of democratic processes, have changed the whole concept of Jewish leadership. Leadership must be responsive to the yearnings, the aspirations and the hopes of those for whom they presume to speak. We must begin with the assumption that the American Jewish Community possesses the vitality, the resources, material and spiritual, essential for any effective effort to save our people and to restore in part their deteriorated status.

An Executive Committee elected at the Pittsburgh Conference has met frequently since that meeting and has labored arduously to carry out the mandate of that historic meeting. That its efforts have been successful is due to the patience and the zealous cooperation of the members of the Executive Committee and its Secretariat who labored with a fine spirit of consecration. The course was not free from difficulties, but we are gratified to report that all but one of the organizations originally invited to the Pittsburgh Conference and an additional number, making the total of 63, are now integrated with and participating in this Conference.

The delegates have received a report of the Preliminary Studies Committee, which under the able leadership of Rabbi Milton Steinberg, in an amazingly brief period of time, produced what may well be considered an authentic documentation of the historic background of the questions we shall be called upon to consider.

You have been advised of the method devised and recommended for the organization of committees of this Conference. This method has been the subject of discussion and has perhaps caused some confusion and misunderstanding. The very nature of the Conference, meeting for the first time, and comprising 500 delegates, adhering to groups with divergent points of view, seemed in the judgment of the majority of the Executive Committee to suggest

the advisability of a change from the routine method of conducting conventions and conferences. The system is calculated to insure representation on all committees of these diversified points of view. It must be made clear that group designations were intended to furnish the key to proportionate representation on committees and do not contemplate regimentation of individual delegates in the Conference, as respects action upon all programatic and ideological questions. Some delegates have registered under the heading "designation reserved". Such delegates remain free to become affiliated with any of the now existing groups or to organize themselves in groups of ten or more for the purpose of designating representatives on the several committees of the Conference.

We are enjoined by the agenda "to consider and recommend action on problems relating to the rights and status of Jews in the post-war world."

What are the problems? How broad shall be the scope of inquiry and action? To consider the post-war status of the European Jewish community without considering ways and means of rescuing that community from complete annihilation seems incongruous. It has been said that "post-war" is "post mortem" unless practical and effective measures of relief and rescue are immediately inaugurated. Therefore, notwithstanding the more limited phrase-closy of the agenda, plans for the immediate rescue of the remnant of our people in the Nazi occupied countries must and will receive full and adequate consideration at this Conference. One complete session of this Conference will be devoted exclusively to this important and compelling subject.

It is assumed that every delegate to this Conference is fully conversant with the tragic details of the great calamity that has befallen our people. The discussions at this Conference will be replete with heart-rending details of the horrible fate of the millions of our fellow Jews who have been the victims of history's classic example of "man's inhumanity to man". Just prior to the opening of this Conference extensive publicity was again released in respect to the mass murder of Jews in Europe. Nothing is to be gained from its repetition. The time has come to say less and do more about it. Just a brief general description of the dark and tragic scene of European Jewry should be sufficient.

The barbarians of Nazi Germany have written the blackest record of all time. Homes have been destroyed, sacred altars have been profaned, complete loss of life and liberty has been the fate of millions of Jews and non-Jews alike — all because of a lust for power and conquest, bolstered by a ruthless campaign of hate and persecution unloosed upon the world by the would-be destroyers of our civilization. Enslavement, starvation, mass murder, confiscation of property, and unbelievably inhuman cruelty have been the lot of millions of Jews, Czechs, Poles, Greeks and of many other nationalities. It is significant, however, that it was against the Jewish people that Hitler's war of extermination was first declared. I say it is significant and yet not at all strange, for the Jew is and always has been the symbol of those

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moral, ethical and spiritual forces that are wholly incompatible with the Nazi philosophy of hatred, conquest and power politics. That symbol had to be destroyed if Hitler and his legions were to succeed. The philosophy of Nazism could not co-exist in the same world with the philosophy of Judaism.

In Germany today, few native Jews remain alive, but the German campaign of Jewish annihilation continues unabated. Robert Ley, the German labor leader, recently declared: "We shall not stop until the last Jew of Europe is destroyed."

In Holland, the traditional haven of refuge since the days of the Spanish Inquisition, there remain perhaps 4,000 Jews out of what was once a cultured, flourishing, well-integrated community of 180,000. Dispatches pour in from day to day and week to week, which tell of the continuing, ever accelerated reign of terror. As the tide of the battle moves against the Nazi legions, their leaders attempt, in desperation, to strengthen the home front by the intensification of their campaign of destruction against the Jew.

Thousands of Dutch Jews have been machine-gunned in Poland. Hardly a town or village in the whole of Poland has escaped the scourge of massacres. More than 52,000 Jews have been driven out of Belgium. Large numbers have been deported from Frence for slave labor in Germany. More confiscatory fines are levied upon the remnant of the Jewish population in Roumania.

Bulgaria, yielding to German pressure, orders the deportation of all the 25,000 Jews from Sofia. Each day brings a new shock to stir the conscience and arouse the moral resentment and indignation of the civilized world.

It is with regret that we record the lack of practical measures for the relief of the millions who have been persecuted, pillaged, pilloried and devasted. Many statements of sympathy and compassion have been issued by our Government and its allies. Such statements are reassuring, but distressingly ineffective in so far as the plight of the victims is concerned.

We read not long ago of the suicide of a great Polish Jewish leader, Samuel Zygelbojm, who was a member of the Polish National Council. His last note read: "I cannot be silent - I cannot live while remnants of the Jewish people of Poland, of whom I am a representative, are perishing. My comrades in the Warsaw ghetto took weapons in their hands in the last heroic inpulse. It was not my destiny to die there together with them, but I belong to them and in their mass graves. By my death I wish to express my strongest protest against the inactivity with which the world is looking on and permitting the extermination of my people."

I refer to this tragic incident and quote from the note, primarily for two reasons; first, to emphasize that except by the grace of Divine Providence many of us and those whom we represent might have been among the victims in Poland, in Germany, or in some one or other of the conquered lands; and second, to stress the folly of futility. An individual crushed by the overwhelming

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PO FO tragedy of his people may find his escape in suicide, but a people can find no such escape. The lack of response to the call of distress from those who have been plunged into the depths of abject misery, calls for greater courage and unswerving determination. Expressions of sympathy and compassion will not save one human life. Concrete measures, promptly planned and expeditiously executed are the indispensible imperatives.

We must urge the facilitation of emigration by whatever proper method it can be brought about. We must urge and bring about the rehabilitation of refugees who had the good fortune to escape from the hell-hole of Nazidom and now survive in neutral countries. The strength, the resources, the influence, the resolute determination of this Conference, speaking for the whole of the American Jevish community, must be brought to bear in order that constructive, practical and effective measures shall no longer be delayed, and in order that those who can may yet be saved.

The needs are so great, the problem so overwhelming, that it transcends the bounds of private philanthropy. It will require the interest, the attention and the resources of governmental agencies. May we not hope, in the name of humanity, may we not expect, in the light of the spirit of the Atlantic Charter and the recognized war aims of the United Nations, that our appeals will meet with a satisfactory response? Provision for relief in the post-war world will require our consideration. Formulation of plans for voluntary mass-emigration and colonization is a subject with which we shall be required to deal.

We shall have to deal with the problem of reconstruction of Jewish life and with the rehabilitation of Jews in devasted war areas.— yes, reconstruction and rehabilitation, both physically and spiritually. We must consider and devise ways and means of bringing assurance, after the present devasting reign of terror, of civic, political, cultural, religious and social rights for our fellow Jews on the basis of equality with all of the inhabitants of the several countries in which they may find themselves.

The recommendations that we may here formulate will undoubtedly be wholly consistent with the war aims of the United Nations because they will emanate from the plain dictates of justice and humanity.

On December 17, 1942, the following statement was issued for publication by the United States and European members of the United Nations:

"The attention of the Belgian, Czechoslovak, Greek, Luxemburg, Netherlands, Norwegian, Polish, Soviet, United Kingdom, United States and Yugoslav governments and also of the French National Committee (Fighting French) has been drawn to numerous reports from Europe that the German authorities, not content with denying to persons of Jewish race in all the territories over which their barbarous rule has been extended the most elementary human rights, are now carrying into effect Hitler's oft-repeated intention to exterminate the Jewish people in Europe.

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"From all the occupied countries, Jews are being transported in conditions of appalling horror and brutality to eastern Europe.

"In Poland, which has been made the principal Nazi slaughter house, the ghettos established by the German invader are being systematically emptied of all Jews except a few highly skilled workers required for the war industries.

"None of those taken away are ever heard of again. The able-bodied are slowly worked to death in labor camps. The infirm are left to die of exposure and starvation or are deliberately massacred in mass executions.

"The number of victims of these bloody cruelties is reckoned in many hundreds of thousands of entirely innocent men, women and children.

"The above mentioned governments and the French National Committee condemn in the strongest possible terms this bestial policy of cold-blooded extermination.

"They declare that such events can only strengthen the resolve of all freedom loving peoples to overthrow the barbarous Hitlerite tyranny.

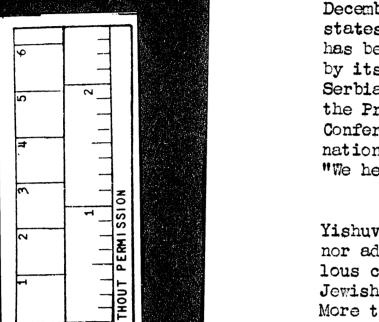
"They reaffirm their solemn resolution to insure that those responsible for the crimes shall not escape retribution and to press on with the necessary practical measures to this end."

This statement recognizes the problem but falls short of any practical accomplishment. We may, however, upon the basis of this expression of good will and interest, be able to point the way for practical measures.

As respects the foregoing, there will be little diversity of opinion. All will agree, first, as to the scope and extent of the calamity and the problem; second, as to its unique and special character; third, as to the necessity for immediate practical measures, and fourth, as to the inescapable responsibility of immediate, forthright, and unequivocal action by this Conference in the name of the American Jewish community. We must formulate our demands and we must create and establish those instrumentalities through which such demands can be made effective.

What is the place of Palestine - what role can it play in meeting the problems of our people of the post-war world? We are to consider and recommend action upon all matters looking to the implementation of the rights of the Jewish people with respect to Palestine.

The Balfour Declaration and the Palestine Mandate, endorsed by 52 nations, concurred in by joint resolution of the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, were hailed as documents of state, legally recognizing the historic connection of the Jewish people with Palestine and their right to rebuild their national home in that country.



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In addressing the first session of the American Jewish Congress in December 1918, the late Louis Marshall, that preeminent Jewish leader and statesman, said: "The future of Palestine is no longer a mooted question. It has become a settled question. The action of the British Covernment as announced by its eminent spokesman, Mr. Balfour, endorsed as it has been by France, Italy, Serbia, Greece and other of the Allied Nations — approved as it has been by the President of the United States, — will undoubtedly receive at the Peace Conference which is about to assemble at Versailles, the sanction of all the nations of the world." Mr. Marshall made the further significant statement: "We here in America sympathize with every Jewish aspiration."

Encouraged by the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate for Palestine, the Yishuv in Palestine, with the aid and support (regrettably not too universal nor adequate) of the Jewish community throughout the world has wrought a miraculous change in Palestine. In the past ten years, the most tragic in all of Jewish history, Palestine has absorbed more than 280,000 Jewish imigrants. More than 40,000 Jewish refugees have entered Palestine since the outbreak of the present war. The Jewish population has grown from 55,000 at the close of the first World War to over 550,000 in 1942. We have invested in Palestine during the last two decades an estimated total of \$560,000,000, of which approximately \$100,000,000 came from Jewish national and public funds. Social, cultural and religious institutions established in Palestine represent an achievement of the most romantic character. These institutions are beginning to serve as a source of inspiration to the Jewish communities throughout the world. Can there be any question that Palestine in the light of long-term planning, presents the most realistic single opportunity for the resettlement of large numbers of the unfortunate and harassed of our people.

Can there be any doubt, that consonant with the principles of freedom, justice and self-determination, basic in the war aims of the United Nations, there will be after the complete triumph of Democracies, an opportunity for the realization of the purpose and aims of the Balfour Declaration and the Palestine Mandate? Can there be any question that we have a right to hope for and expect the victorious United Nations, in the name of justice and humanity, to make Palestine available to the greatest extent possible to those of our people who desire to make it their homeland? The development in Palestine, notwithstanding all of the difficulties, political and economic, and notwithstanding the setbacks that have come about as a consequence of the war, and weak and uncertain appeasement diplomacy, must be recognized as an heroic and thrilling chapter in Jewish history.

Can there be any substantial difference of opinion with respect to the flagrant injustice of the White Paper of 1939? It has been correctly described not only by Jews, but by non-Jewish public opinion and by statesmen in the Congress of the United States and in the British Parliament as "cruel and indefensible." In June 1939, Winston Churchill, whose magnificent leadership of the British people in the present crisis has won the esteem, the admiration and affection of all freedom loving men throughout the universe, made the

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declaration in Parliament: "There is much in this White Paper which is alien to the spirit of the Balfour Declaration — I shall feel personally embarrassed in the most acute manner if I lent myself by silence or inaction to what I must regard as an act of repudiation."

We commend for your careful reading that section of the Preliminary Studies Committee report entitled "Area Six - Palestine" which furnished background material for the consideration of this most important question.

We are not unaware of the difficulties in Arab-Jewish relations, unquestionably aggravated by and largely the result of Nazi anti-Semitic propaganda and political stimulation. The removal or dissipation of this cause after a United Nations victory, and following the annihilation of the sources of hate, will bring, in my judgment, a completely changed attitude on the part of the Arab population. The utilization by enemy propaganda machinery of any disaffection between the Jews and Arabs is understandable. The readiness, however, with which those of our own people who, however, earnestly and sincerely they disagree with certain ideological concepts, appropriate, adopt and help to spread such propaganda is incomprehensible and represents a malady in Jewish life.

The tragedies that have overwhelmed mankind as a result of the diplomacy of expediency as distinguished from rigorous adherence to the principles of justice and equity, should serve as a compelling admonition to those who plan the post-war world, of the bankrupt character of the whole appearement doctrine. The "Treaty of Friendship" signed by Emir Feisal and Chaim Weizmann in January 1919, expressed most cordial good will and understanding for Jewish aspirations in Falestine and endorsed the fullest guarantee for carrying into effect the cooperation of Jews and Arabs for their common destiny. That this attitude was changed under the leadership of the Mufti of Jerusalem, the collaborator of the Axis, is not strange. The Yishuv has courageously continued its colonization and the development of Palestine. Its will to survive in the face of all obstacles, its determination to reclaim and establish Palestine as a homeland, have resisted and overcome every frustration. I make bold to predict that with the advent of peace and the restoration of friendly relationships between the various peoples of the earth, this affliction of Arab-Jewish dissension will run its course and substantially disappear.

There are different points of view in this Conference with respect to Palestine. The diversity of opinion runs the whole course, from the minimum which subscribes to the support of Palestine as a haven of refuge and as a spiritual and cultural center, to the maximum represented by the concept of a Jewish state in Palestine.

It is not the function of your Chairman, in his official capacity, to commend or criticize any of these various points of view. It will be the responsibility of this Conference in the consideration of this problem with an attitude of tolerance toward and mutual respect for the diverse opinions, to determine what shall be the declared position of the American Jewish community.

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There are some among our people who view with anxiety, if not alarm, any forthright expression by the Jewish community on behalf of our fellow Jews in time of war. This attitude, in my opinion, is a grievous mistake. It grows out of the fallacious notion that we are asking for special privileges — that we desire to be singled out for special consideration. The sad and irrefutable fact is that we have been singled out for persecution, for oppression, for destruction. Our demand is only this — that we shall enjoy in common with all free men the freedoms for which our beloved nation and its allies are now engaged in a global conflict. All that we ask for is that justice shall be done.

As Americans and as Jews, the cause of the United Nations is doubly ours. All that we possess must be dedicated without reserve to this cause. Every sacrifice which the needs of the war effort may demand of us must be made. We may record with gratification that throughout the world and upon every United Nations' front, our people are found rendering patriotic service of a high and distinguished character,

The Jews in Russia have played a magnificent role in the Red Army. More than 600,000 Jews are now actively participating in the glorious performances of that army, apart from the fine demonstrations of heroism in the effective guerilla warfare. We find the Jews fighting in the ranks of the Chetniks, in the legions of the Greek guerillas, in the armies of the Free French, Free Poles, Free Norwegians, Free Czechs and Free Dutch. In the South African army there are \$250 Jewish men and women volunteers, 10% of the entire Union's Jewish population. There are the modern Maccabees of the Polish ghettos. Here in America the record is well known. The London Evening Standard editorially commented in connection with the resistance of the Warsaw ghetto: "Jews are fighting today on all fronts for the cause of humanity and the Jew will be among the proud participants of common victory." There are the 21,000 heroic Jewish warriors of Palestine whose important role in the Nazi debacle of North Africa is yet to be told.

The Jew will be among the proud participants in a common victory.

If after the war is won, we shall not lose the peace, not only the Jew, but every nation ravished by Axis lust, all peoples now deprived of their freedom, all mankind will participate in the fruits of that victory. Our demands should be easily grantable. We want no special privileges. — we ask only for sumple justice and equality.

Our destroyers make no distinction between Jews. The Jewish slave labor battalions of the Nazis are made up, I am sure, of Zionists and non-Zionists, of bankers, doctors, lawyers, business-men, laborers, assimilationists and non-assimilationists, devoutly religious Jews and those of our people who are indifferent to their religion — the simple basic and unchangeable fact is, they are made up of Jews.

Let us emulate the fighting Jews of the Warsaw ghetto. They were thoroughly conscious of their common bond and went heroically to their death, but not without glory. They found no time or place for ideological disputation. The entire Jewish community was galvanized into action for the heroic last stand. Radicals and conservatives, Bundists and Zionists, Orthodox and Liberals, all were agreed on the dynamic decision to fight together, though it meant inevitable death. The Jewish guerillas in the Red Army, the Jewish partisans in the armies of the Greek and Yugoslav guerillas, have likewise had their unity sealed in blood. The whole Yishuv in Palestine is one, in its determination to build a free homeland, and in its unshakeable resolve to defend the accomplishment of a quarter of a century of consecrated self-sacrificing labor.

With magnificent fortitude have the Jews in the stricken lands manifested once again the will of Israel to survive. Their fight is our fight. Their struggle is our struggle. Their ultimate fate may in large measure determine our fate. The doctrine of isolation in matters of Jewish interest is fatal to our cause. We are an integral group, call it what you will - religious or national - it matters not, for we do have a common inheritance, a common history, a common religion, common traditions and a common cause, and we must strive for a common basis for action.

The intensible and indefinable forces that unite Jews as a people are vastly more potent than the apparent differences that seem to divide us. The Democracies learned belatedly, but well, that their choice was between death alone or victory together. Jews must recognize that our continued disunity portends our loss of opportunity for salvation. We cannot in these tragic and trying times indulge in the luxury of dialectics, Our people's salvation depends upon a united front.

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THE DALESTINE

Report on

THE AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE

AUGUST 29—SEPTEMBER 2, 1943

In This Issue

- Highlights of the Conference
- Excerpts of Major Addresses
- Text of Declaration on Palestine
- Review of Press Comment
- Analysis and Evaluation
- The Camera at the Conference

Tributes to the Memory of the Late

Judge Julian W. Mack

VOL. XXXIII, NO. 18

371/35039

SEPTEMBER 10, 1943

What Happened at the American Jewish Conference

A Descriptive Report of the Proceedings and Dramatic Highlights

By CARL ALPERT

THE AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE, representative assembly of all of American Jewry, met in New York, at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, from August 29th to September 2 and carved out a program of action on which all American Jews can agree. Highlights of the Conference:

1. Adoption of a resolution demanding the reconstitution of Palestine as a Jewish Commonwealth. Only four of the 500 delegates present dissented.

2. Vigorous denunciation, by unanimous rising vote, of the American Council for Judaism, which, during the course of the Conference, had published an attack against Zionism in the New York *Times*.

3. Adoption of resolutions demanding that immediate steps be taken by the United Nations to rescue Jews who still survive in Europe.

4. A call for an international Bill of Rights to protect the rights of Jews and all minorities in the post-war period.

5. A decision to reconvene the Conference within a year.

Dramatic Scenes

The air of tense expectancy in which the Conference opened on Sunday, August 29, the excitement caused by protracted negotiations at committee meetings, particularly in the Palestine Committee, was built up to a climactic demonstration on Wednesday evening, September 1, when the Committee reported the Palestine resolution, and it was adopted amid scenes of enthusiasm and the singing of Hatikvah.

The huge Waldorf-Astoria ballroom, the floor packed with delegates, and the double, tier of collegies arounded with

The huge Waldorf-Astoria ballroom, the floor packed with delegates, and the double tier of galleries crowded with spectators, was appropriately decorated with both American and Jewish flags. Singing of Hatikvah, The Star Spangled Banner and God Bless America alternated frequently, as the delegates gave free vent to their emotions.

free vent to their emotions.

"Historic" was the adjective most frequently used by the participating delegates, who sensed the significance of this event: the gathering of 500 men and women representing every point of view in American Jewish life, and by open discussion and exchange of opinion, formulating a platform which meets with universal approval.

Individual outstanding memories were:

1. The stirring address of Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, who brought even non-Zionists to their feet cheering, as he portrayed Palestine as the supreme demonstration of Jewish "statesmanship, vision, courage, faith."



HENRY MONSKY

2. The warm reception given to the representatives of both the American Jewish Committee and the Jewish Labor Committee, when they publicly proclaimed their endorsement of unlimited immigration to Palestine, and demanded abrogration of the White Paper.

3. The dignity, humility, and ability of Henry Monsky, presiding genius over the Conference and its creator.

4. The raging attack against the New York *Times* made from the floor of the Conference by Rabbi Joseph S. Shubow, of Boston—an attack which the *Times* printed in full the next morning.

The first session opened with a touching memorial service in which five rabbis and a cantor participated. The moving rendition of the *Kaddish* and the *El Moleh Rachamim* brought tears to the eyes of many.

Scheduled for 3 p. m. on Sunday afternoon, the Conference opened only twelve minutes late.

Desire for Unity

Mr. Monsky delivered the opening address, stressing the desire for unity and common action within the area of agreement among all delegates. The theme was repeated by almost every subsequent speaker.

Louis Lipsky reported a plan on procedure and organization for the Conference, which called upon the delegates to designate their group affiliation. On the basis of such designation, representation on the various committees was mathematically apportioned among the groups.

Of the nine groups listed, the General Zionists, composed of the Z. O. A., Hadassah and the Order Sons of Zion, had the largest delegation.

Other groups were the American Jewish Congress, B'nai B'rith, Religious National Orthodox, Labor Zionists, Non-Partisan, Reform Religious, Conservative Religious, Jewish Labor Committee.

More Speeches

Sunday evening Rabbi Stephen S. Wise took the microphone, and in his address suggested that the Conference deputize a small committee to confer with President Roosevelt, during the period of the Conference, regarding Jewish problems. In the excitement at ensuing sessions the suggestion was not acted upon.

He was followed by Judge Proskauer, widely known as a non-Zionist. Paying tribute to the "superb achievement made by our people in Palestine", he added that "we are as one in our concern for its preservation and upbuilding." The unexpected words set the audience off (Continued on page 18)



DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER

The Annual Z.O.A. Report

The annual reports of the Z.O.A. Administration, affiliated organizations and agencies, usually published in THE NEW PALESTINE, have this year been issued in the form of a pamphlet, to permit the dedication of this number to the historic American Jewish Conference.

Copies of the Administration Report will be distributed to all delegates at the convention, and will be mailed to District chairmen and such other members as request

The New Palestine, an American Zionist Publication Devoted to Jewish Affairs, is published fortnightly from October to May, inclusive, by the Zionist Organization of America; monthly, June to September, except on Jewish holidays. All communications should be addressed to The New Palestine. 1720 16th St., N. W., Washington 9, D. C. Subscription price, \$2.00; Canadian subscription, \$2.25; foreign subscriptions, \$3.00. Entered as second class matter at the Post Office in Washington, D. C., under the act of March 3, 1879. Carl Alpert, Managing Editor.



Friday September 10, 1943

The New Palestine

No. 18 Vol. XXXIII

Editorials

371/3503

The Conference

The American Jewish Conference has won its place in Jewish history. While the outcome of the sessions was a series of resolutions addressed to the United Nations, the deliberations themselves were by and for Jews. The entire function was carried out with a dignity, a solemnity, a consecration to duty which lifted it far above the level of the usual convention or assembly. And unusual it was, for the representatives of American Jewry present were moved by a realization of the significance of the occasion. There was an enthusiasm, and at the same time a restraint, which characterized each meeting. It was almost as if the delegates were aware that their every act would be scrutinized by posterity.

The Conference had been criticized in some quarters for its cumbersome machinery, for the unwieldy, democratic process by which it took seven months to organize and ascertain the will of the American Jewish community. Yet that very weakness, which is characteristic of all democratic forms, is today its strength. The decisions which came from the Conference were the views not of individuals, not of one organization or group of organizations, but the collective expression of the opinion of all of American Jewry on the problems which the Conference faced.

There were some questions which the Conference did not consider. There might have been greater divergence of opinion had the agenda been more comprehensive. Some difference of opinion was expressed over continuation of the Conference, though the decision to call another session within a year is not an indication that it will become a permanent body. That issue will doubtless be more pertinent at the next assembly. And if in the interim the machinery established by the Conference to implement its decisions, and the leaders entrusted with the task, indicate a capacity to succeed, there is no reason why the life of the Conference should not be prolonged so long as there is need for its services. In such event steps should be taken to ensure the preservation of its democratic nature, and this might entail the holding of periodic elections.

The significance of the Conference from the Zionist point of view has been adequately pointed out by every commentator and writer, and need not be labored here. In brief, the claims previously advanced by Zionists to the effect that the great majority of American Jews are sympathetic to the Zionist cause were shown to have been, if anything, understatements. The logical exposition of the Zionist case both in committee and on the floor of the Conference, the demonstration of the tremendous emotional appeal which Zionism possesses for the masses of Jews undoubtedly affected many delegates

who had come to the Conference without fixed convictions. The tide of Zionist sentiment was irresistible.

Zionists, who composed a working majority of the delegation, bore themselves with dignity and honor. Every courtesy and every opportunity to speak was furnished the "opposition," but the latter dwindled away to less than the number of fingers on one hand.

The effect which the Conference has upon Jewish group morale in this country is obvious. Its spiritual value to the huddled Jewish masses who remain alive in Europe and who hear only snatches of the news from overseas, can well be imagined. And it remains to be seen what value the Conference will have vis-a-vis the non-Jewish world in effectuating the decisions taken. In this latter field the Conference is yet to face its supreme test, for all the fine speeches and all the resolutions and all the applause will be as naught if there are no tangible, real, substantial results.

Judge Mack

Even the distinguished array of prominent American Zionists who join, elsewhere in this number, in paying tribute to the memory of the late Judge Julian W. Mack, can not adequately in words describe the role which he played during a critical period in our movement. To tell of his association with Judge Brandeis in one of the early struggles which left its mark on the organization, to list his interests in those institutions which were devoted to the building of a sound and stable economy in Palestine, such as the Palestine Electric Corporation, the Palestine Potash Company, the Palestine Economic Corporation and its predecessors, to tell of the mildness of his spirit and the greatness of his soul, make the picture fall short of the mark.

He was a complete, an integrated personality, kin to Justice Brandeis in his ability to capture and harmonize the essence of both Americanism and Zionism. Unnumbered are those in Zionism today who owe their inspiration, their early guidance, to him.

It is sometimes forgotten, in appraising Judge Mack, the American and the Zionist, that he was a great jurist as well. His pre-eminence as a judge was shown on many occasions, and particularly was recognized when he was appointed a member of the United States Commerce Court in 1910, though he was of a different political party from President Taft, who named him. It should be recalled that in crucial cases involving the status of the Interstate Commerce Commission his dissent was the basis of the final opinion handed down by the United States Supreme Court.

Judge Mack was one of the giants in American Zionism. He will be grievously missed.

Declaration on Palestine

ADOPTED BY THE AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE, WEDNESDAY EVENING, SEPTEMBER 1, 1943

W.E., Jewish citizens of the United States, dwelling in security in this our beloved land, which, because of its democratic institutions and just laws, "gives to bigotry no sanction and to persecution no assistance," and dedicated in undivided loyalty to the noble spirit of our country, are gathered here as an American Jewish Conference, a democratically elected body representative of American Jewry, to cope with the tragic problems of our fellow Jews all over the world. We make the following declaration of principles as to the relation between the Jewish people, the Homeland in Palestine and the world need for post-war reconstruction.

The Jewish problem has been made one of the central elements in the present assault on civilization. In a world wide Nazi-Fascist conspiracy its exploitation has constituted the initial phase of the assault. Its solution is an integral part of the conditions needed for an enduring peace.

In the first world war, the civilized nations pointed to a solution of the Jewish problem through the reconstruction of the Jewish Homeland in Palestine with which the Jewish people has been bound up historically and religiously throughout the centuries. This was expressed in the Balfour Declaration, issued by the British Government, after consultation between the Allied and Associated Powers, on November 2, 1917, and in the Mandate for Palestine accorded to Great Britain in 1922, with the consent of the fifty-one member nations of the League of Nations and with the unanimous approval of the Congress of the United

On the basis of this international covenant the Jewish people set itself to the task of recreating its historic Homeland in Palestine. In the course of twenty-five years, it has demonstrated a constructive capacity which has already had a profound effect both on the hopes and outlook of the Jewish people, and on a country which had for centuries been regarded as one of the derelict areas of the world. The progress of all sections of Palestine, Arab as well as Jewish, under the stimulus of the developing Jewish Homeland is one of the most notable phenomena of our time; the contribution of democratic Jewish Palestine to the victories of the armies of the United Nations in the Near East has been a significant vindication of the policy initiated by world opinion and carried out in the labors and sacrifices of the Jewish people.

This period of reconstruction, however, has coincided with a general deterioration of world order and international morality. Chief among the victims of this deterioration have been the millions of Jews in Europe. Yet despite the fact that the conditions which made imperative the re-establishment of the Jewish Homeland a quarter of a century ago have been intensified beyond the darkest forebodings, the rights internationally guaranteed to the Jewish people with respect to Palestine have been progressively whittled down on grounds of administrative and political expediency until, with the promulgation of the White Paper of May, 1939, the solemn promise made to the Jewish people was virtually nullified and the last hope of millions of homeless Jews threatened with extinction.

The American Jewish Conference, meeting at a time when the policies of the peace are in the making, and conscious of its historic responsibility and of its position as representative of American Jewry and spokesman for the silenced Jewish communities of Europe, calls for the loyal and faithful fulfillment of the covenant entered into between the nations of the world and the Jewish people.

We call for the fulfillment of the Balfour Declaration, and of the Mandate for Palestine, whose intent and underlying purpose, based on the "historical connection of the Jewish people with Palestine", was to reconstitute Palestine as the Jewish Commonwealth.

We demand the immediate withdrawal in its entirety of the Palestine White Paper of May, 1939, with its unwarranted restrictions on Jewish immigration and land settlement. The White Paper is a violation of the rights accorded to the Jewish people under the Mandate for Palestine. It was characterized by Mr. Winston Churchill in the House of Commons as "a breach and a repudiation of the Balfour Declaration". The Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations refused to recognize its legality or its moral validity.

The Conference demands that the gates of Palestine be opened to Jewish immigration, and that the Jewish Agency, recognized under the Mandate as the authorized representative of the Jewish people, be vested with authority to direct and regulate immigration into Palestine, to develop to the maximum the agricultural and industrial possibilities and the natural resources of the country, and to utilize its uncultivated and unoccupied lands for Jewish colonization and for the benefit of the country as a whole.

The measures here urged constitute the essential prerequisites for the attainment of a Jewish majority and for the re-creation of the Jewish Commonwealth.

In the pursuit of its objective of a Jewish Commonwealth, the Jewish people has steadfastly held before it the ideals which shall integrate Jewish Palestine within the new democratic world structure. The Jewish people pledges itself to scrupulous regard for and preservation of the religious, linguistic and cultural rights of the Arab population of Palestine, and to the civil and religious equality of all its inhabitants before the law. The inviolability of the Holy Places of the various religions shall be guaranteed.

The Jewish people reaffirms its readiness and desire for full cooperation with its Arab neighbors in Palestine and, in the work of its own national redemption, welcomes the economic and political development of the Arab peoples of the Near East.

On the basis both of the part it has played in the history of civilization, and of its present achievement in Palestine, the Jewish people believes that the Jewish Commonwealth to be established will represent another fundamental contribution to the social and political ideals of the world. It will finally answer the agonized cry of the most martyred of peoples, and enable it to take its rightful place in that progressive order of mankind which, we pray, may issue from the present struggle.

We Expect Justice From the World

By HENRY MONSKY

IN addressing the first session of the American Jewish Congress in December, 1918, the late Louis Marshall, that preeminent Jewish leader and statesman, said: "The future of Palestine is no longer a mooted question. It has become a settled question. The action of the British Government as announced by its eminent spokesman, Mr. Balfour, endorsed as it has been by France, Italy, Serbia, Greece and other of the Allied Nationsapproved as it has been by the President of the United States-will undoubtedly receive at the Peace Conference which is about to assemble at Versailles, the sanction of all the nations of the world." Mr. Marshall made the further significant statement: "We here in America sympathize with every Jewish aspiration."

Progress of Palestine

Encouraged by the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate for Palestine, the Yishuv in Palestine, with the aid and support (regrettably not too universal nor adequate) of the Jewish community throughout the world, has wrought a miraculous change in Palestine. In the past ten years, the most tragic in all of Jewish history, Palestine has absorbed more than 280,000 Jewish immigrants.

More than 40,000 Jewish refugees have entered Palestine since the outbreak of the present war. The Jewish population has grown from 55,000 at the close of the first World War to over 550,000 in 1942. We have invested in Palestine during the last two decades an estimated total of \$560,000,000, of which approximately \$100,000,000 came from Jewish national and public funds.

Social, cultural and religious institutions established in Palestine represent an achievement of the most romantic character. These institutions are beginning to serve as a source of inspiration to the Jewish communities throughout the world. Can there be any question that Palestine, in the light of long-term planning, presents the most realistic single opportunity for the resettlement of large numbers of the unfortunate and harassed of our people?

A Right to Expect

Can there be any doubt that, consonant with the principles of freedom, justice and self-determination, basic in the war aims of the United Nations, there will be, after the complete triumph of the Democracies, an opportunity for the realization of the purpose and aims of the Balfour Declaration and the Palestine Mandate?



General view of the assembled delegates, photographed at the opening session.

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Can there be any question that we have a right to hope for and expect the victorious United Nations, in the name of justice and humanity to make Palestine available to the greatest extent possible to those of our people who desire to make it their homeland? The development in Palestine, notwithstanding all of the difficulties, political and economic, and notwithstanding the setbacks that have come about as a consequence of the war, and weak and uncertain appearament diplomacy, must be recognized as an heroic and thrilling chapter in Jewish history.

Can there be any substantial difference of opinion with respect to the flagrant injustice of the White Paper of 1939? It has been correctly described, not only by Jews, but by non-Jewish public opinion and by statesmen in the Congress of the United States and in the British Parliament, as "cruel and indefensible." In June, 1939, Winston Churchill, whose magnificent leadership of the British people in the present crisis has won the esteem, the admiration and affection of all freedom loving men throughout the universe, made the declaration in Parliament: "There is much in this White Paper which is alien to the spirit of the Balfour Declaration—I shall feel personally embarrassed in the most acute manner if I lent myself by silence or inaction to what I must regard as an act of repudiation."

The Arab Problem

We are not unaware of the difficulties in Arab-Jewish relations, unquestionably aggravated by and largely the result of Nazi anti-Semitic propaganda and political stimulation. The removal or dissipation of this cause after a United Nations victory, and following the annihilation of the sources of hate, will bring, in my judgment, a completely changed attitude on the part of the Arab population. The utilization by enemy propaganda machinery of any disaffection between the Jews and Arabs is understandable. The readiness, however, with which those of our own people who, however earnestly and sincerely they disagree with certain ideological concepts, appropriate, adopt and help to spread such propaganda, is incomprehensible, and represents a malady in Jewish life.

The tragedies that have overwhelmed mankind as a result of the diplomacy of expediency as distinguished from rigorous adherence to the principles of justice and equity, should serve as a compelling admonition, to those who plan the post-war world, of the bankrupt character of the whole appeasement doctrine. The "Treaty of Friendship" signed by Emir Feisal and Chaim Weizmann in January, 1919, expressed most cordial good will and understanding for Jewish aspirations in Palestine and endorsed the fullest guarantee for carrying into effect the cooperation of Jews and Arabs for their common destiny. That this attitude was changed under the leadership of the Mufti of Jerusalem, the collaborator of the Axis, is not strange.

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and establish Palestine as a homeland, have resisted and overcome every frustration. I make bold to predict that with the advent of peace and the restoration of friendly relationships between the various peoples of the earth, this affliction of Arab-Jewish dissension will run its course and substantially disappear.

There are different points of view in this Conference with respect to Palestine. The diversity of opinion runs the whole course, from the *minimum*, which subscribes to the support of Palestine as a haven of refuge and as a spiritual and cultural center, to the *maximum*, represented by the concept of a Jewish state in Palestine.

No Special Privileges

There are some among our people who view with anxiety, if not alarm, any forthright expression by the Jewish community on behalf of our fellow Jews in time of war. This attitude, in my opinion, is a grievous mistake. It grows out of the fallacious notion that we are asking for special privileges—that we desire to be singled out for special consideration. The sad and irrefutable fact is that we have been singled out for persecution, for oppression, for destruction. Our demand is only this—that we shall enjoy in common with all free men the freedoms for which our beloved nation and its allies are now engaged in a global conflict. All that we ask for is that justice shall be done.

The National Idea

By ABBA HILLEL SILVER

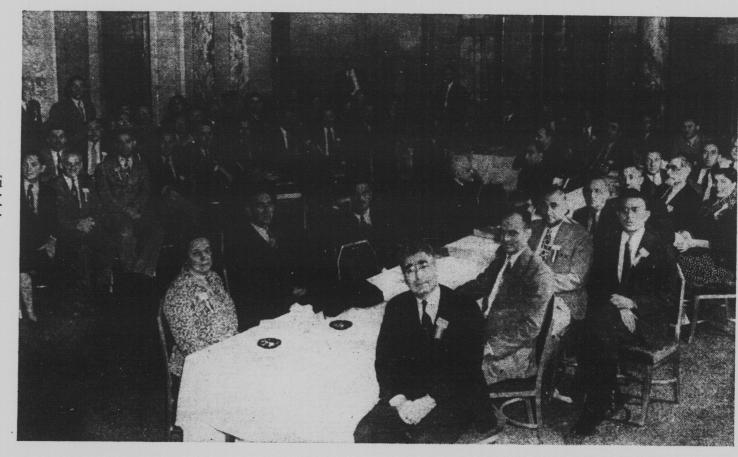
If we surrender our national and historic claim to Palestine and rely solely on the refugee philanthropic appeal, we shall lose our case as well as do violence to the historic hopes of our people. On the basis of sheer philanthropy, of satisfying pressing immigration needs, Palestine has already done its full share for Jewish refugees. It has taken in more than one-half of the total Jewish refugees of the world, and the Palestine Arabs and their sympathizers in England and here have been quick to point out that Palestine has already done all that can be expected from a small country and far more than most of the larger countries have done.

It is because Palestine is the Jewish Homeland that we have the right to insist upon unrestricted immigration. It is because of the historic connection of the Jewish people with that land, that the Mandatory Government in the first place undertook to reconstitute it as a National Home and pledged itself to facilitate Jewish immigration and the close settlement of the Jews upon the land. In other words, it is on the national idea that the upbuilding of Palestine as a place of large scale Jewish immigration has always rested and can alone continue to rest. Our right to immigration in the last analysis is predicated upon the right to build the Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine. They are interlinked and inseparable.

To ask, therefore, the Jewish people to abdicate the

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The Palestine Committee, of which Dr. Abba Hillel Silver was chairman, Rob-ert P. Goldman, vice-chair-man, and Meyer W. Weis-

political positions which after centuries it finally acquired in Palestine, or by remaining silent about them, to suggest to the world that we have abandoned them, on the vain assumption that this would lead to the opening of the doors of Palestine to large-scale Jewish immigration, is utterly fantastic. I am for unity, but here I must point out in all humility that unity of action in a democratic organization depends not upon unanimity but upon the willingness of the minority to submit to the decisions of the majority.

It is folly to expect universal agreement among five million Jews of America, or among their chosen representatives here, on all basic problems affecting Jewish life. It is folly to expect to. It is naive to anticipate it. However, this is no reason for avoiding these basic problems. This is no reason for preventing the majority from endorsing the program which the minority may not be inclined to endorse. If the overwhelming majority of the American Jewish people believe in the upbuilding of a Jewish Commonwealth, they should have the right, through the medium of this solemn conclave, to say so and to make their demand upon the world.

An analysis of the composition of the American Jewish Conference

Lawyers and judges	136	27%
Rabbis	98	20%
Business and Trade	81	16%
Organization executives and		
professional workers	22	4%
Writers, editors, journalists	20	4%
Physicians and dentists	8	2%
Teachers	6	1%
Women	66	13%
Organization executives and professional workers Writers, editors, journalists Physicians and dentists	22 20 8 6	4% 4% 2% 1%

Toward Mutual Understanding

By LOUIS E. LEVINTHAL

Public discussion of Zionism in 1943 need not be characterized merely by appeal to passion and emotion. The cold, hard realities of life during the past ten years have, in my opinion, vindicated all that the founders of Zionism wrote and uttered years ago. With startling clarity they probed to the very essence of the Jewish problem. They were not prophets who could foresee the future, but they did recognize that given conditions would necessarily lead to given results, and they indicated that the anomalous position occupied by the Jews of Europe in the social, political and economic life of their respective countries, no matter what the degree of so-called "emancipation", would inevitably lead to certain dire consequences. The Zionists have been among the leading scientific sociologists of modern times, recognizing a vital human problem and advocating a planned solution whose feasibility has already been amply demonstrated by the marvelous achievements of the Yishuv in Palestine.

The Original Formula

Forty-six years ago they offered a simple, precise formula known as the Basle Program. Its intent and scope were obvious. With a minimum of verbiage it advocated the establishment in Palestine of a legally secured, publicly assured national home for the Jewish people. In the forty-six years that have intervened, there have been many attempts to improve upon that first definition, to clarify it, to extend it, to redefine the terms. I cannot say that all these efforts have succeeded. Indeed, much of the confusion that has beset us, and many of the misunderstandings that have occurred, have been caused by semantic difficulties, the inability to express in precise words exactly what we mean. When our Zionist objectives are defined in clear and unambiguous terms, prejudices frequently disappear and opponents become friends of the cause.

The speakers tonight will no doubt speak in language which brooks of no misunderstanding. And those who thought they were poles apart may discover after all that the only thing dividing them is words and phrases. If tonight's discussion will succeed in hacking away the accumulation of many years' growth of definitions, explanations, theories, and so-called elucidations, we shall have made a valuable contribution to the clarification of the essence of the Jewish problem. At this Conference I hope we shall all see light. One need not be optimistic to believe that we may lower the walls of separation that have in the past divided the various groups and individuals constituting this Conference, and, as the result of our deliberations, bring us all closer together.

To Alter Opinions

It should hardly be necessary to remind any of the delegates that open-mindedness and willingness to alter opinions in the face of demonstrated logic is a mark of intellectual honesty and moral courage. Such honesty and courage were displayed in 1918 by that giant in American Israel, Louis Marshall.

If, however, differ we must at this Conference, we should demonstrate to our own satisfaction and to the chagrin of our enemies, that even when we disagree, we can do so as gentlemen and as friends.

A Program of Rescue

By ISRAEL GOLDSTEIN

S there a feasible program of large-scale rescue for the Jews of Europe? There is. It has been called to the attention of our government and the British more than once-

1) to curb further massacres by sternly warning the gangster nation, now, when it feels the might of the attacking force, that there will be retribution, and by setting up without delay a tribunal of investigation in which Jews, as the chief victims, should have a representative;

2) to save Jews in Ghettoes from starving to death by getting in food, either by negotiations similar to those which resulted in the feeding program for the Greeks, or else through underground channels;

3) to secure the release of considerable numbers of Jews from the lands of Germany's satellites who, quivering in the face of their impending defeat, may be not unwilling to store up at least one merit to their accounts;

4) to encourage neighboring neutral countries to provide temporary asylums to such as can be rescued by undertaking the financial obligation for their support and the guarantee of their permanent settlement elsewhere after the war;

5) to provide for the settlement in Palestine of large numbers of such Jews as can be rescued, for Palestine is not only accessible over land routes, thus avoiding the problem of shipping space, but it is, of all places, best prepared, physically, economically, socially, culturally and spiritually to accommodate large numbers of Jews, thanks to the foundations which have been laid by the Zionist movement. All that is necessary is to annul the White Paper which has shut the gates of Palestine. Illegal because it was repudiated by the Mandates Commission of the League of Nations, and immoral because it broke a pledge given by the strongest of empires to the weakest of peoples, this White Paper is in effect a death warrant for hundreds of thousands of Jews. If there is still a conscience in Humanity, it must be annulled and the gates of Palestine must be opened wide.

If There's a Will

A sufficient portion of this rescue program is feasible to make possible the rescue of hundreds of thousands, if there were the will to do it. But, alas, the will for a great salvation is weak. Hence the piddling ineffectiveness at Bermuda and since Bermuda; hence the self-exonerating references by our State Department to the numbers of refugees who have been accommodated on our shores since 1933, all of them within the existing immigration quotas, as if a single additional Jewish life can be saved thereby.

Of course we are grateful for all the aid that has been given. Jewish tradition teaches that even the saving of one life is of cosmic significance. Of course we are solaced by the expressions of sympathy from religious and secular quarters. But the will to undertake a bold, great program of rescue is lacking. It is a scale and tempo of a resolution of sympathy every now and then, a thread of assistance every now and then, a little help here and there, a bagatellizing, temporizing, compromis-



The Organization Commit-tee—Judge Meier Stein-brink, chairman, Daniel Frisch, vice-chairman, Mrs. Harry Berkman, secretary.

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ing program, instead of a great, passionate, moral urge to say to the doomed Jews of Europe:

"To you, whom we welcome as our national allies, who have been the first of Hitler's victims and have borne such lacerations as no other people has borne, to you we say with all our hearts, wherever there is room, and most of all in your motherland of *Eretz Yisrael*, let the hounded of your people find rest, respite and salvation."

We Face Two Wars

This is an American Jewish Conference. American and Jewish! Jewish, because as a people we have lived and battled, with uncountable victims and casualties, through the most awful war in history. Not war but wars! One war in which all the free nations fought, and Jews among the free nations fought as of them and with them and for them, in every country in which Jews dwell-goodly numbers throughout the British Empire, the Soviet Union, and these United States. And we have fought or been fought and outfought in another war: the war of the enemies of freedom against Jews in fulfillment of a thousand threats to exterminate the Jews. We have borne our full share of the war. In addition, there has been a Jewish war, a war in which Jews were singled out as the victims, not as casualties of war but as victims of extermination, the dread and, alas, almost completely successful threat of extermination. No people, though its population were five or ten times as large as the numbers of world Jewry, has suffered losses comparable to that of the Jewish people in the war of anti-Jewish extinction. In that war of Jewish extinction one-fourth and more of our numbers have perished.

Threat of Extermination

As every American gathering aims to preserve and safeguard America, so the American Jewish Conference

aims to preserve and safeguard America, and beyond that, to preserve and defend the Jewish people. Hitler said, and Goebbels echoed: "The Jewish people must be exterminated." The American Jewish Conference accepts the challenge and answers: The Jewish people will not be exterminated, and joins in the high resolve and resistless determination of the United Nations that never more shall leader or gangster, Chancellor or President, be permitted even to threaten unrebuked and unpunished the extermination of a people or race or faith. A free world will never again passively wait for the fulfillment of such a threat as it, alas, waited from 1933 to 1939. Such a threat will indict and convict its authors, in the sight and with the sanction of all the world, of destructive intent and purpose not against the Jew alone, not against any people or faith, but against our common civilization and freedom.

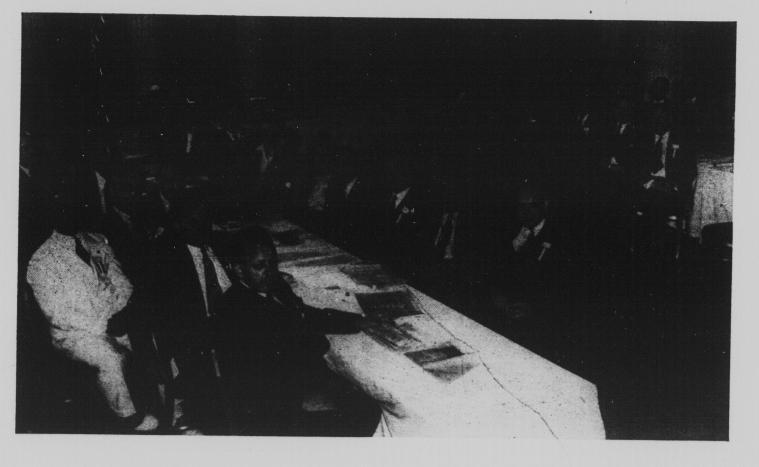
We are bidden to think clearly and to act effectively. To think clearly is to think not with confusing prepossessions or prejudices but with open-mindedness and clarity, with mind single to the needs of the hour. Each of us represents a segment of Jewish life. All of us together serve the whole of Israel. We shall be truer to Jewry in its entirety only if we remember the best and highest in the group or faction that sent us here.

Treachery to Israel

By JAMES G. HELLER

By a vote of more than three to one, the Central Conference of American Rabbis, at its Convention in New York in June, declared that the American Council for Judaism is a disruptive force, that at a tragic time in Jewish history it had chosen to attack and to attempt to destroy the greatest hope of the Jewish people, that it had drawn an unreal and misleading distinction between faith and people. The Central Conference ex-

Post-War Problems Committee — Rabbi Irving Miller, chairman, Professor Hayim Fineman, vice-chairman, Mrs. Archibald Silverman, secretary.



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The General Committee, supreme administrative board of the Conference. Chairman was Louis Lipsky, vice-chairman, Herman Shulman, and secretary, Maurice Bisgyer.

pressed the hope that the American Council for Judaism would disband. Instead of harkening to their colleagues, the Rabbis who constituted the American Council for Judaism have now organized in various communities, drawn in some laymen, and attempted to launch a more intensive program of action.

The most recent and outrageous action of this group is the publication in the New York Times, this morning, of a lengthy statement over the signatures of 26 Reform Rabbis and of 86 laymen, which comprises the traditional misrepresentation and the dangerous fallacies of this group. Without doubt, its inception and its dissemination at this time are no accident, but calculated as a counterblast against the American Jewish Conference. For some time members of this group have striven to give the impression that they represent a considerable proportion of the Jews of this country and that the Zionists are guilty of constant misrepresentation in regard to the convictions of the mass of American Jews. This Conference is now definite proof that the overwhelming majority of the Jewish citizens of this country are Zionists in their sympathies.

The American Council for Judaism represents a comparatively small minority of the Reform Rabinate. It represents an infinitesimal minority of the Jewish laity of the United States.

Any group in American Jewish life had the right to come to this meeting, to state its point of view and to agitate for it. The American Council for Judaism has a number of men at this Conference. To issue this statement at this time, totally outside its merit or demerit in and of itself, is a disservice to this representative body, and is a denial in Jewish life of that very democracy which this statement declares it loves and serves.

As a Reform Rabbi, as a Zionist, as an American Jew, whatever may be the motive of the men responsible for this statement, I denominate it here as treachery to the cause of Israel, and in the widest and deepest sense, to the cause of justice and humanity which our country and its Allies are pledged to save and serve.

Set Aside Differences

By JOSEPH M. PROSKAUER

We are trying to write a new chapter in the long struggle for the rights of Jews. As one who has fought that fight for many a long year until I can say that I have grown gray in the service of my people, I dare to view the future with optimism and with confidence. I recall the superb contribution of my revered predecessor in the presidency of the American Jewish Committee, the late Louis Marshall, when, with his coworkers, he faced 25 years ago a task like that which you and I face tonight. Then, too, there were differences of ideology; no man abandoned his principles, but all pulled together to achieve a great common good

The Voice of American Jewry

Statement Presented by Henry Monsky and Adopted Unanimously by the American Jewish Conference, August 31, 1943

The American Council for Judaism, a body of 100 men speaking for themselves, has seen fit to issue a statement in the name of "Americans of Jewish faith" at a time when the American Jewish Conference, a democratically elected body, representing every major Jewish organization and community in the United States, is seeking to unite American Jews on a common program for the solution of the tragic problems confronting world Jewry.

The timing of this action must be characterized as unsportsmanlike and reprehensibly impertinent. It is calculated to confuse American public opinion and to disrupt the American Jewish community.

Today the delegates here assembled, representing every point of view, are united in their repudiation of this attempt to sabotage the collective Jewish will to achieve a unified program.

Committee on General Resolutions — Mortimer May, chairman, Sigmund W. David, vice-chairman, Rabbi Solomon Rosenberg,

for Israel. Truly in the words of Isaiah: "They helped everyone his brother, and everyone said to his brother, be of good courage." And I draw inspiration and courage, as I am sure every one of you will draw them, from the great wisdom, sacrifice and foresight which enabled men like Marshall and Brandeis, Wise and Mack, Warburg and Weizmann, and the many, many others to set aside differences and to achieve a program of joint action for Jewry.

We have a right to take courage, also, from the great achievements of Jewish organizations at home and abroad in the task of rehabilitation. We are united in recognizing the superb achievement made by our people in Palestine, in our admiration for the skill and devotion which has transformed the desert into the farm, the factory, the vineyard and the orange grove. We

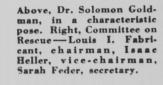


rejoice to know that there are today 600,000 Jewish people living under their own vine and fig tree. Jews throughout the world, and particularly in America, regardless of their ideologies, have been glad and proud to help in this epic achievement. And there are many in this room numbered among those to whom Jewry owes a deep debt of gratitude for this superb creation. We are as one in our concern for its preservation and upbuilding.

THE INTERIM COMMITTEE

Which Will Implement Decisions of the Conference and Call the Next Session

Judge Louis E. Levinthal, Rabbi Israel Goldstein, Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, Rabbi James G. Heller, Robert Szold, Rabbi Solomon Goldman, Daniel Frisch, Judge Morris Rothenberg, Herman Shulman, Harry A. Pine, Judith G. Epstein, Rose Halprin, Dr. Stephen S. Wise, Louis Lipsky, Carl Sherman, Rabbi Irving Miller, Mrs. Stephen S. Wise, Professor Hyman Ettlinger, Rabbi Joseph S. Shubow, Sigmund W. David, Herman Hoffman, Herman Stern, Simon Segel, Henry Monsky, David Blumberg, Frank Goldman, Sidney Kusworm, Mrs. Maurice Turner, Julius Livingston, Maurice Bisgyer, Gedaligh Bublick, Rabbi ingston, Maurice Bisgver, Gedaliah Bublick, Rabbi S. Federbush, Mrs. B. J. Goldstein, Rabbi William B. Drazin, J. David Delman, Dr. Samuel Nirenstein, Professor Hayim Fineman, Devorah Rothbart, Louis Segal, David Wertheim, Baruch Zuckerman, Edgar J. Kaufmann, George Fredman, Isidor Sack, Mrs. M. L. Goldman, Rabbi Maurice Eisendrath, Charles P. Kramer, Louis J. Moss, and Dr. Louis M. Levitsky.





Impressions of a Veteran Zionist

Chairman of the Palestine Committee of the First Jewish Congress Underlines the Present Tasks

By DR. HARRY FRIEDENWALD

ALL who attended the Conference must have been impressed by the character of the body and by its deliberations. It was an assembly of high order in intelligence and in spirit; it acted wisely and fearlessly with full sense of its responsibility. Its dignity was manifested in the relations between the varied groups which represented all classes of American Jewry and wide divergence in general outlook upon the needs of our people. Its self restraint was shown when it was confronted by the effrontery of the newspaper attack, which was like a rock thrown through the window into the gathering. The act was properly denounced in a few short statements and the matter closed.

The discussions were earnest and thoughtful, and the addresses were of high level, some indeed were of exceptional quality in content and in oratory. The vast body of delegates and guests also gave evidence of deep feeling, notably during the discussions of the Palestine problem; listening with rapt attention to the reading of the report of the Committee on Palestine, it broke out in applause at the all but unanimity of the vote, and with spontaneity in singing the Hatikvah; it was deeply moving.

The First Resolution

The Conference brought to mind the first American Jewish Congress in Philadelphia twenty-five years ago. There was much alike in both. This is seen in the similarity of the Palestine Resolutions of this Conference and of the Congress a quarter of a century ago; the latter, I may tell you, was read to that Assembly by me, as Chairman of the Palestine Committee, and was as follows:

Resolved, That the American Jewish Congress instruct their delegation to Europe to cooperate with representatives of other Jewish Organizations and specifically with the World Zionist Organization, to the end that the Peace Conference may recognize the aspirations and historic claims of the Jewish people in regard to Palestine, and declare that in accordance with the British Government's Declaration of November 2, 1917, endorsed by the allied Governments and the President of the United States, there shall be established such political, administrative and economic conditions in Palestine as will assure under the trusteeship of Great Britain, acting on behalf of such a league of nations as may be formed, the development of Palestine into a Jewish Commonwealth; it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which shall prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status, enjoyed by Jews in any other country.

Mack's Statement

Summing up the significance of the adoption of the resolution, the late Judge Julian W. Mack, Chairman of the Congress, made this statement:

The resolutions adopted in reference to Palestine are an acceptance on behalf of American Jewry of the opportunities for the Jewish people that have been offered by Great Britain, endorsed by France, Italy, and Serbia, and which will undoubtedly be confirmed by the Peace Congress. President Wilson, in his letter of August 20, 1918, to Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, expressed his complete sympathy with the Zionistic Aims.

Great Britain has been specified as the Trustee in the firm belief that the United States desires no trusteeship or protectorate over any of the peoples in Asia Minor, and in recognition not only of Great Britain's leadership in redeeming Palestine from the rule of the Turk, and in declaring for its dedication as a National Homeland for the Jewish people, but also because of her peculiar fitness to act in this territory on behalf of the League of Nations.

It was further resolved that the American Jewish Congress elect a delegation of not more than seven members to leave as soon as possible for Europe, where in cooperation with representatives of the Jews of other lands it was to use its best endeavors to realize the objects for which the Congress was established.

The opposition to the calling of that Congress was vehement. The Central Conference took quite a different attitude then, from the present. A rabbinical fellow-townsman of mine gave it public utterance as follows:

The rabbis held that Zionism is not Judaism, that it is often used only as a disguise by Jews who have nothing in common with the Jewish faith and the synagogue. The resolution by which nationalism was rebuked was to the effect that the rabbis condemned every unreligious or irreligious movement among Jews. The Zionists in the Conference knew exactly what that resolution meant, and at what it was aimed. The Reverend Doctor Stephen S. Wise, of New York, who, as the recognized leader of the Zionists of America, and the Reverend Doctor Max Heller of New Orleans, also a leading exponent of Zionism, did all in their power to defeat the resolution, but they were overwhelmingly outvoted.

A Poor Prophet

And he further declared:

In the near future, when the Zionist movement will have receded far into the background, as it must, American Jews will recognize the signal service rendered the Jews of the country and the country at large by the sane and statesmanlike action of the Central Conference of American Rabbis.

Such were his forebodings.

In claiming our rights in Palestine at the Peace Conference we took upon ourselves a heavy responsibility, that of doing our part in the upbuilding of Palestine. We have suffered many disappointments in the manner in which Great Britain has carried out the Balfour Declaration. We Zionists have carried out our part of the contract. Our pioneers have labored and have built, have redeemed waste lands and planted them, have dried out marshes and settled colonies upon them, have reared towns and cities; we have helped to build up a community that has been able to receive great numbers of our fugitive brethren and is able and ready to receive many times more. We are greatly gratified because of the successful foundation of the National Homeland, and take just pride in the splendid pioneers of Eretz Yisrael in agriculture, in industry, in education, in science, in art, and in literature.

The American Role

What we in the United States have contributed is not little, but it is far short of what our five million brethren in this country could and should have done. I look forward to greatly increased activity in this country as a result of this American Jewish Conference. The activities which it has initiated, the published reports of its proceedings, and still more, the verbal reports of our delegates and guests to their communities throughout these United States will stimulate us to greater activity, and should arouse many from their state of apathy. We need ever greater devotion and sacrifice, for never was the situation of our people more critical, nor the Homeland in greater danger.

We need strength, courage and determination in this distraught, war-ridden world.

In looking back over half a century of association with Zionist activities, my memory goes back to the Chovevei Zion movement in the eighteen-nineties. I have witnessed an important period of our history; I have observed the growth of Zionism and what it has brought into Jewish life, all that it has created in Palestine. It appears to me as one of the great wonders, for it has been a hard struggle within our camp against the indifference and ignorance of large groups, and against fear and cowardice of men of power and influence; a hard struggle against inimical forces from without. But the foundation is laid. It is for us to make it secure and to help it grow into the Jewish Commonwealth. For this we need the fullest measure of sympathy and cooperation of the whole of American Jewry.

Tributes to Judge Mack

The Deepest Convictions

Judge Mack had lived and moved for a long time amidst perhaps the extremest anti-Zionists to be found anywhere in the country. He had won among them close personal friends, even as he had achieved high recognition throughout the country as a student and interpreter of the law, as a jurist, a man of impeccable integrity and a communal leader of marked ability. Why, asked many of those who knew him in his early years, did he go over to Zionism?

He came, as do all men whose eyes are opened to the circumstances of Jewish existence and the logic of Jewish history. He was frightened by the smugness and obtuseness of Jewish isolationists who assumed that all was right with Israel because all was well with them, and that what was wrong, their charity could right. He was grieved that many found their lives burdensome for the lack of responsibility. He was pained because much of American-Jewish talent was untouched by the pathos of Jewish destiny and the sublimity of the Zionist dream. He had come to see clearly the superficiality, lie and cowardice of assimilation. He came to Zionism out of the deepest convictions, bringing to it, in addition to his personal prestige, rare qualities of mind and heart.

This is not the moment in which to attempt an evaluation of the services he has rendered the movement. Suffice it to say that it is an amazing coincidence, and comforting to recall, that as our great leader was breathing his last, a Conference, representing well-nigh the whole of American Jewry, approved almost unanimously the cause to which he had dedicated the maturest and most fruitful part of his life.

-Solomon Goldman.

Precious and Unforgettable

Reverently I pay to Judge Julian W. Mack the memorial tribute of a disciple and friend. He judged all men in equity; he served in love; he led in wisdom; he championed the cause of social justice and human liberty. His proud devotion to Israel, its faith, its ideals and its definite hope of national restoration in Zion inspired a whole generation of men and made his name precious and unforgettable in the annals of our people.

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver.

A Believer and a Doer

Judge Julian W. Mack was a great American, and a believer in the American way of life. His life constituted a synthesis of Americanism and Zionism. Universally respected and beloved by men of all shades and opinions, he was largely responsible for drawing into active participation in Zionist work a new generation of American Jewish leadership.

He was not only a believer, but a doer, as his achieve-

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ROBERT SZOLD.

End of a Chapter

The passing of Judge Mack has brought to a close a chapter in American Jewish history from which the present Jewish leadership has drawn valuable experience and guidance.

As a close associate of the late Supreme Court Justice Louis D. Brandeis, Judge Mack was both a directing and inspirational force during the first World War in securing for the oppressed Jewish communities in Central and Eastern Europe the rights of equal citizenship. Elected President in 1918 of the newly reconstituted Zionist Organization of America, Judge Mack's tenure of office marked a turning point in the history of the Zionist movement in this country. Applying his judicial mind and vision to the furtherance of the ideal which was so dear to his heart, Judge Mack, as head of the movement, wrought a phenomenal change in the organizational structure of the organization. Under his presidency the Zionist movement in the United States gained immeasurably in membership and prestige.

Even in the years of his failing health he retained his abiding interest in the progress of the Zionist movement. During the two years in which I have served as President of the Zionist Organization of America I have derived much inspiration from the personal contact which I was privileged to have with Judge Mack. On numerous occasions, when confronted with trying problems, I was fortified by him in the carrying out of difficult Zionist tasks. His passing is a loss not only to Zionism but to America as a whole.

JUDGE LOUIS E. LEVINTHAL.

Rendered Historic Service

The death of Judge Julian W. Mack has taken from us one of the most honored and distinguished figures in American and Jewish life. I had the privilege of working close by the side of Judge Mack for more than two decades, and came to know him as a jurist who ranked with the foremost judges on the Federal bench.

He was an American passionately devoted to fundamental American concepts of freedom; a proud and courageous Jew who thoroughly understood the problems of his people; a Zionist who brought prestige, honor and influence to his cause. Judge Mack strikingly illustrated the point in the same way as did his illustrious co-worker, Louis D. Brandeis: that Americanism and Zionism are wholly compatible; that an espousal of Zionism is but an extension of American principles of liberty and democracy applied to the Jewish people.

As President of the Zionist Organization of America, as first chairman of the Jewish delegations at the Peace Conference following the first World War, and in countless other directions, Judge Mack rendered inestimable and historic service. Always stressing fundamentals, always bringing his unmistakable integrity to bear upon the solution of the problems he dealt with, Judge Mack's passing is an irreparable loss to America, to Israel, to the Zionist movement.

JUDGE MORRIS ROTHENBERG.

Spokesman and Leader

Judge Mack has been a Nestor in the Zionist movement in America. He came to Zionism through intellectual conviction in the mature years of his life, after a judicial weighing of the various factors involved in the Jewish problem. He brought to it a vigor and clarity of his brilliant mind and the rigid integrity of his soul. As President of the Zionist Organization of America he was a spokesman and leader during a momentous period in the history of Zionism.

Judge Mack's name in the annals of American Zionism will be recalled alongside that of the late Justice Louis D. Brandeis. Like Brandeis he by his public career and by his ideals exemplified the utter congeniality, nay the consanguinity, between Americanism and Zionism. A whole generation of American Jews have been influenced by his example.

When Palestine will be re-established as a Jewish Commonwealth, as indeed it must be if there is still a conscience left in humanity, Julian Mack's Zionism will have its fulfillment at last.

Dr. Israel Goldstein.



The big sign leaves no room for doubt that service men are welcome at this recreation center in Palestine.

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ments in behalf of a sound economic basis for Palestine testify. Those of us who were privileged to work closely with him revered him for his qualities of leadership, and for his earnestness and sincerity. A great judge, American, Zionist, Jew, he has left an indelible impress on the history of his time.

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DR. ISRAEL GOLDSTEIN.



The big sign leaves no room for doubt that service men are welcome at this recreation center in Palestine.

Statements by Representative Delegates Indicate an Awareness of the Significance of the Assembly. Keynotes: Unity, Democracy, Action.

Organic Unity of American Jews

It is impossible at this early date to appraise in its farreaching implications the deep significance of the convening of the American Jewish Conference and of the dignified and efficient manner in which the Conference carried out the task which had been entrusted to it. But one thing it has already demonstrated beyond a peradventure of doubt, and that is that it can become the long-sought-for melting-pot to fuse into one organic community all American Jews, regardless of nativity, world-outlook or economic status, and that Zionism is the only cause which can provide the necessary heat to effect such fusion.

—Dr. Mordecai M. Kaplan. New York, N. Y.

A New Era in Jewish History

The American Jewish Conference presented a mighty challenge to American Jewry, which has been fully met to the complete satisfaction of all elements of Jewry.

Viewing the totality of Jewish life and recognizing that as Jews we were confronted with the immediate as well as the Jews we were confronted with the immediate as well as the post-war problem of saving the Jewish people and not merely the rescue of individuals, and with a courage most befitting a people so outraged, the Conference has initiated a new era in the history of American and World Jewry. It spoke with almost complete unanimity, justly demanding the reconstitution of Palestine as a Jewish Commonwealth.

From this Conference, American Jewry has emerged a united Jewry, entitled to be proud of its accomplishments.

I have every confidence that soon a new day will dawn with justice to the Jew throughout the World.

I am proud that I had a share in this memorable event in

Jewish life, however small it may have been.

-JUDGE EMANUEL GREENBERG.

Brooklyn, N. Y.

An Emotional Experience

It is impossible at this time to appraise the significance of the great meeting just ended. It struck me, however, that as an emotional experience it was without parallel. At the opening meeting, and at the Wednesday evening session, when the Palestine Resolution received the almost unanimous support of American Jewry, the room seemed filled to overflowing. It was filled not only with the thousands of the living, but there seemed also the spirits of many others who have prayed and lived and died for the establishment of an ideal brought closer by this historic meeting.

Zionism has always combined reason and emotion. Reason ruled at the Conference in the spirit of moderation and concession from many groups. Emotion also influenced all of us-emotion for our stricken brethren to be translated into action, enthusiastic consecration to an ideal that seems nearer realization, prayerful thankfulness that we are permitted to see this new day of greater unity for greater work.

New Orleans, La.

—ISAAC S. HELLER.

Landmark in Zionist History

The American Jewish Conference demonstrated the coming of age of the American Jewish community. Jews the world over viewed the proceedings of this assembly with great anxiety and with prayerful expectation. Indeed, all who have witnessed and participated in the deliberations of this Conference can now testify to its historic grandeur.

With uncommon earnestness and deep concern, this Conference recalled the story of Jewish suffering, demanded the implementation of rescue and relief measures, proposed

a post-war program of compelling justice and moral validity, and proclaimed the indestructibility of Israel's will to live.

Of transcending significance was the universal and almost unanimous acceptance of the Zionist program calling for the recreation of Palestine as a Jewish Commonwealth. For years Zionists have contended that American Jewry had come to realize the centrality of the Zionist idea and ideal in the realize the centrality of the Zionist idea and ideal in the solution of the Jewish problem. This contention was finally,

completely and enthusiastically vindicated by the high resolve of the Conference. The passage of the Palestine resolution constitutes one of the most glorious and epochal landmarks in the history of American Zionism, age more, in the entire epic

of the Zionist movement. It would be tragic and most unfortunate should the organized Zionists of America now rest on their laurels. The historic action of the American Jewish Conference should serve to quicken the tempo and deepen the measure of our unceasing and undeviating labor in the cause of the Jewish Commonwealth reborn and rebuilt.

-EZRA Z. SHAPIRO.

Cleveland, Ohio.

A Spur to Zionist Determination

The word "historic" has lost much of its power and significance by virtue of frequent and loose usage. It may, however, honestly and unreservedly be applied in all of its original strength to the American Jewish Conference which was recently convened. This great convocation was truly historic, not as much by virtue of what was accomplished, as by reason of that which it symbolizes, and the possibilities for the future which it presages and reveals. These accomplishments can be briefly summarized.

1. The Zionist ideal, it has been clearly demonstrated by the Conference, is not the concern of a fringe of the Jewish community, but is the object of sympathetic interest by the overwhelming body of American Jewry. Zionism is now officially native to the aspirations of American Jewry as a collective organism.

2. The elected representatives affiliated with various trends and groups were impressed, in a more dramatic and emphatic way than ever before, by the intimate inter-relationship between all grave world problems of the Jewish people everywhere, and the solution offered by *Eretz Yisrael*. The line sometimes drawn between the realities of the Jewish situation in Europe and the rebuilding of the homeland is artificial

The Conference has shown that despite the baffling variety of Jewish blocs and ideologies, a practical unity in significant areas of common action can be achieved. Such unity need no longer remain in the realm of pious wishes.

4. A principle of discipline in American Jewish life is in the process of being developed. The repudiation of the American Council for Judaism by the Conference was a repudiation of anarchy. The American Council for Judaism was pilloried and ostracized because it had the brazenness to challenge the collective will of American Jewry as ex-

pressed by the Conference.

The American Jewish Conference should act for us Zionists as an additional spur to our determination and our zeal. Whatever be the actions or utterances of a few irreconcilable Jews, we can go forward drawing strength from the knowledge that the heart of American Jewry beats for Zionist ideals and hopes.

—Rabbi Morris Adler.

Detroit, Mich.

An Everlasting Impression

The exaltation and emotions which filled the hearts of the delegates to the American Jewish Conference cannot adequately be described in any word picture. One must have been present truly to appreciate it. The solemnity of the occasion and the heavy responsibility which lay upon the delegates could be felt in the very atmosphere.

Palestine the immediate rescue of follow Jove from the

Palestine, the immediate rescue of fellow Jews from the Axis dominated lands, and post-war reconstruction were the problems which commanded the attention of the delegates, but the question of a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine was the burning issue. When the Palestine Resolution came up for discussion and vote, the delegates and guests sat tense until Rabbi Silver, who was presenting the Resolution, read the demand for a Jewish Commonwealth, and then the floodgates of emotion broke loose. The scene which followed was one of those unforgettable moments which left an everlasting impression upon the memory of every person who witnessed it.
The Conference was significant in the fact that here, at long last, was assembled the collective voice of American

—JUDGE LEWIS GOLDBERG.

Brookline, Mass.

The Supreme Democratic Body

The great, heartening, bracing news is that at last the mighty giant that is American Jewry has shaken off his drugged slumber and has arisen to the full consciousness of his power. The American Jewish Conference has vindicated the courage, intelligence and honor of American Israel.

The American Jewish Conference emerges as the supreme democratically chosen body of American Jewry. The cry for unity in American Israel, for a single forum for the defense of Jewish rights, has at last been heeded. The effort to sabotage the Conference has proved a boomerang. Orthodox, Conservative and Reform, labor and business, Zionist and non-Zionist, all are component members of the Jewish people and all are represented in the Conference, which safeguards alike the will of the majority and the rights of the minority.

The Conference is dedicated to the conviction that the preservation of Jewish life and aspirations is not a minor problem that can wait for disposal at some unspecified future date. The Conference has demanded active moves now, by the United Nations, for saving the lives of the victims of Nazism, and for the international outlawry of Anti-Semitism, as the moral cancer of the twentieth century. These goals must be recognized as prime military objectives and inescapable moral obligations.

The American Jewish Conference has demonstrated its stalwart Americanism in calling for the establishment of the Bill of Rights of our immortal Constitution as part of the international law of mankind. The world cannot endure halfslave and half-free. As Americans, we are determined to

make it safe for freedom. Lastly, and most significantly, the American Jewish Conference has demonstrated that American Jewry stands foursquare behind the ideals of Palestine and the Jewish Homeland. Even the delegates who are non-Zionist demanded the immediate abrogation of the White Paper and mass Jewish immigration into Palestine under the direction of the Jewish Agency. By an overwhelming majority, the Conference went on record to demand the attainment of a Jewish majority and the establishment of a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine, in which the rights of all other groups would be guaranteed in the letter and the spirit.

Over forty years ago Herzl addressed a group of French Jewish students and said to them: "Je ne vous dis pas encore, 'Marchons!" Je vous dis seulement, 'Debout!" "I am not yet saying to you 'Let us march'; I only say 'arise'."

American Jewry has now arisen. With God's help it will go forward!

-Dr. Robert Gordis.

Rockaway Park, N. Y.

Political Maturity of the Jews

What did the Conference achieve? Is that not the question which will now be posed to the 500 delegates in an effort to determine if the hopes which were engendered for its success have materialized? And what will be the answer? What will the delegates who came from Shreveport, from Nashville, from Seattle, from Los Angeles as well as those who came from communities nearer to New York reply? Will the delegates merely report, as is already being done in the press, that the raison d'etre of the Conference was merely to accomplish unanimity on the Palestine resolution? To render such a statement is, in my opinion, to miss entirely the point and the significance of the Conference. True, indeed, the high point of the Conference was the thrilling climax when the resolution concerning, among other items, the proposal that Palestine be constituted as a Jewish Commonwealth, was adopted by all the delegates of varying shades of opinion; but, as a symphony cannot depend for its effectiveness merely on its climax (no matter how brilliantly executed) so, too, the Conference cannot be measured in terms of one resolution.

To me the Conference mirrored the political maturity which we are developing; for even as people the world over with a minimum of dissenters are now accepting the belief that

nations can, and should, federate for the common good of all upon a common anvil of action; so too are we Jews accepting the same dictum that Jewish organizations (which in a political sense are not unlike minor sovereign authorities) for their common weal should organize a deliberative body based upon democratic representation, in order that without loss of autonomy their representatives can meet and effectively shape and adopt a common policy.

That is the significance of the Conference. And if we hold fast to such concepts, we may ultimately evolve (even within the framework of the call of the Conference) an assembly which can attempt to solve the many problems with which we Jews are faced and which hitherto have gone unanswered, only because there was considerable disparity in our organizational approach.

Peekskill, N. Y.

-SEYMOUR R. LEVINE.

Beyond the Conference

No one who witnessed or participated in the American Jewish Conference could fail to be impressed by the earnestness, dignity, and forthrightness of that historic assembly. It may well be said that there American Israel rose to its responsibilities and to the challenge of the hour.
For us Zionists this conclave, which cut across all social,

ideologic, and organizational lines, was fraught with added significance and invested with solemn implications. Hitherto, it was left to the Zionists to be the standard bearers of the ideals for which Herzl laid down his life, the pioneers of Palestine labored, and Zionists everywhere poured forth their soul-force. Now it can be said that all American Jewry has taken up the banner under which we go forward for the redemption of our people and the fulfillment of our destiny.

This enlargement is far from carrying with it a release

or diminution of responsibility. On the contrary, Zionists must do more, think harder, and serve more loyally than ever before. We have reached a great landmark. Rebuilding of Palestine, the implementation of Jewish rights to our ancient Homeland, setting firm the foundations for the re-establishment of the Jewish Commonwealth, these have become the purposes of a united American Jewry. The era of propaganda in our midst draws to its close. With the American Jewish Conference a new era opens. We have told each other. Now we must tell the world. We have produced a complete of what Lowish dedication to Zionist ideals. duced a sample of what Jewish dedication to Zionist ideals can achieve. This is what the Jewish National Home has been thus far. Now we must complete the task! May the spirit and the strength that brought American Jewry together find their fulfilment in a noble Jewish Commonwealth expressive of the ideals of the prophets of Israel and of the undimmed fervor and brotherliness of Israel today!

-TAMAR DE SOLA POOL. New York City.

The Triumph of an Ideal

From the opening prayer until the solemn and sacred moment when delegates, by a show of their credentials, voted for the Commonwealth resolution, the Conference was marked by its earnestness, impressiveness and significant

achievements. Once again there is confirmation of the fact that whenever all elements of our people are given the opportunity to express the feelings which tie them with Pales is always the same. The American Jewish Conference has shown more than this. The maximalist program of the Zion-

ist ani maamin was adopted.

It is clear that the Palestine resolution was the main achievement at the Conference. It was an ideological triumph, the triumph of an ideal. From a negligible minority in years gone by to the greatest majority today! Truly a historic span! The statement by the anti-Zionist Council caused sorrow and indignation. They spoke as representatives of enslavement within freedom, and sought to embitter the taste of victory.

One sensed that this was a gathering of generations. Behind the Conference there stood millions of Jewish souls, killed and tortured to death. Surrounding the Conference were the millions of victims throughout the world, and hovering over its proceedings were the hopes of generations. Within the portals of the Conference there assembled Jewish energy, Jewish intellect and brawn, Jews who were ready to serve, to build and ready to put an end to our homelessness. Like a flame lighting up the darkness, the American Jewish Conference showed the way. It was truly a great assembly. -ABRAHAM GOLDSTEIN.

Hartford, Conn.

THE NATIONAL PRESS REVIEW

The Jewish Press on the Conference

On the whole, the Jewish press hailed the recently held American Jewish Conference with enthusiasm, and noted the Palestine resolution with especial satisfaction. There have been some dissenting voices, some, in fact, of a very curious nature. We shall begin with the latter, as a good Lithuanian Jewish housewife begins the serving of the Sabbath meal with chopped liver.

The Communist Press

According to the Communist Morning Freiheit, the Conference should have devoted its energies to mobilizing the Jewish masses behind the war effort. It should not have done anything about Palestine except help the Yishuv in its industrial war effort and establish friendly relations with the Arabs. Nothing else—not even to ask for the admission of refugees who can still be saved from the Hitler inferno. It thus transpires that the advocacy of open doors to Palestine voiced in the Freiheit some weeks ago is hereby withdrawn, and the over-enthusiastic greetings extended to the Soviet Jewish emissaries by some of our Zionist leaders was premature; the party-line has swerved back to a pro-Arab orientation.

In an editorial in its issue of August 29, the day the Conference opened, the Morning Freiheit proposed a six-point agenda for the Conference: help win the war; strengthen the home front and fight Anti-Semitism at home; stand behind Roosevelt; fight the Jewish Quislings and Lavals; establish friendship with the Jews of the U. S. S. R.; help the Yishuv in its war effort.

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In other words: holler for a second front and against Dubinsky. And yet the Morning Freiheit gave the Conference much more prominence than the Jewish Daily Forward. Devora Tarant interviewed everybody under the sun, and Abraham Chapman wrote columns in English demanding a platform uniting all Jews. On the whole, the Conference seemed O. K. to the comrades, before it got under way, except that the Jewish workingman was not represented on it. The Jewish workingman is a euphonious term for the Communists and their fellow travelers, since non-Communist Jewish workers' organizations, according to the August 29 editorial, ought to be

"A Good Thing"

Mr. B. Z. Goldberg of the Day, one of the cleverest Jewish columnists, discusses the Conference fairly reasonably, that is, with no more fallacy than is permissible to an average intelligent human being, except when he touches on the Communists and the U.S.S.R. In the latter case he is subject to all the mental distortions of a fellow-traveler. Although not a Zionist, he recognizes that the overwhelming Zionist sentiment demonstrated at the Conference reflects the sentiment of articulate American Jewry as a whole; he does not think it was wise to have adopted the demand for a Commonwealth as a common demand of all Jews, and he believes a request for the abolition of the White Paper and the opening of immigration would have united all Jewry.

Altogether he believes the Conference was a good thing and a step forward in bringing together Jews of various camps. But in discussing the U. S. S. R. and the Communists at the Conference, Mr. Goldberg resorts to thinly veiled threats that so long as Dubinsky's tailors are given prefernce to Ben Gold's tailors, Stalin will go on jailing Zionists and suppressing the Hebrew language, and Philip Bernstein's appeal to the Russian government will be of no avail.

The Forward Not Excited

The Jewish Daily Forward gave the Conference less space than any other Jewish newspaper. Officially the organ of the Jewish Labor Committee and its sister organizations, the Forward reflected their attitude, which is divided. The old die-hard anti-Zionists of the group are represented in the Forward by Zivion (Dr. Hoffman), while the pro-Zionist spokesman is H. Lang. Mr. Zivion, who takes keen joy in baiting the Zionists, repeats in his review what he has said before: that while Zionism has been making steady gains among the Jewish masses, it has been steadily losing ground in the arena of international politics. Unlike other anti-Zionists, Zivion refuses to take comfort in the supposedly unrepresentative character of the Conference. He is quite willing to concede that the Conference represents the bulk of American Jewry, and that the Palestine resolution represents the sentiments of the Conference.
It was a Zionist Conference, says

Zivion, except that it had less debating and bickering than Zionist Conventions. During the Conference Mr. Lang warned against turning it into a straight Zionist demonstration, and would have preferred a resolution on Palestine to which the Jewish Labor Committee and the American Jewish Committee and the scribe, that is, demanding the abrogation of the White Paper and open doors for Jewish immigration into Palestine. But after the Palestine resolution was adopted, Lang wrote in its support. In the demand that the control of Jewish immigration be vested in the Jewish Agency, and in the recital of the history of Palestine during the past twenty-five years, Lang sees expressions of Jewish dignity in dealing with the world. To some extent he sees the same manifestation in the demand for a Jewish Commonwealth, and therefore welcomes the good grace of the Jewish Labor Committee in refraining from voting against the resolution although it was not ready to go the full length of a demand for a Commonwealth.

Most Outstanding Event

Except for the discordant note of B. Z. Goldberg, the Day was all out for the Conference. It had a special supplement on the day of the opening, and articles, editorials and records of impressions during and after the Conference. The Day and the Morning Journal treated the Conference as the most outstanding Jewish event of many years; the Freiheit, with apparent insincerity, tried to jump on the Jewish wagon in order to boost Communism, while the Forward treated it as just an important event.

Incidentally, both an editorial in the Day and a column by Jacob Fishman in the Morning Journal shortly before the Conference, welcomed the special supplement on the Jewish question by the New Republic, and recommended that delegates to the Conference read it.

The most important comments in the Morning Journal were those contained in Fishman's columns; the most important ones in the Day were the English columns and daily impressions by Dr. Samuel Margoshes. The absence of prominent Gentiles on the platform to greet the Conference was welcomed by Fishman and explained by the fact that no non-Jew, no matter how friendly he may be, is capable of feeling the depth of the Jewish tragedy. Nearly every commentator expressed his admiration for Henry Monsky as a leader and as a speaker. All, except Danzis of the Day, were impressed by the simple, homely prayer of Rabbi Riff—Mr. Danzis did not think the ballroom of the richest hotel in the world was a fitting background for such a prayer. Every comment praised Rabbi Silver's address on Palestine as one of the greatest Jewish addresses in modern history and Dr. Nahum Goldmann's as one of the most intelligent interpretations of the Zionist attitude.

There were angry outbursts against Judge Proskauer for the passage in his declaration in which he explained his dissent by a desire not to embarrass the United Nations' war effort; there were more than angry outbursts against the bombshell of the American Council for Judaism. The Palestine resolution and the unity of the Conference were welcomed by most Jewish commentators, except by those mentioned at the beginning of the article and by Mordecai Danzis who, being a good Revisionist, finds the term Commonwealth insuffi-

The distinguished literary critic and publicist, S. Niger, is almost as pessimistic, though not as cynical as Zivion, about the effect of Jewish enthusiasm and Jewish unity on the fortunes of the Jews in the world. He describes the Conference as a Jewish monologue to which there is no reply from the world.

Some of the more unorthodox commentators, such as Danzis and B. Z. Goldberg, pointed out that there was too much platform and too little discussion from the floor during the Conference.

A Cynical Comment

The finest human touch is provided by the brilliant commentator of the Labor Zionist Yiddisher Kemfer, G. Solomon (Shlomo Grodzensky), who divides participants in the Conference into four classes: the people, the leaders, the rabbis and the functionaries. The people, that is the ordinary delegates, are the most likable ones. They are sincere in their desire to help solve the Jewish problem. The leaders, fine individuals as they are, most of them, are the victims of their bad habits of long standing to bicker and bargain over places behind the scenes. The rabbis are prima donnas vying with one another for the attention of the audience. Most of them are East Side boys who have made good and are anxious to do still better. The functionaries are a cynical lot, and most of them are not interested in the causes they serve. -Moses Z. Frank.

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What Happened at the Conference

(Continued from page 2)

into another wild demonstration. Their feelings were somewhat tempered by his next words: that while there is room for agreement and the working out of a formula, "we may not all be of one mind regarding the ultimate form of government in Palestine."

Other speakers at the session were Dr. Israel Goldstein and Joseph Weinberg. Dr. Goldstein presented the details of a feasible program for immediate rescue of Jews from Europe, and declared that the plan had been called to the attention of the British and American Gov-

ernments more than once.

"We are solaced by expressions of sympathy", he said, "but the will to undertake a bold, great program of rescue is lacking."

The patience of the delegates began to fray a bit at the third session, on Monday afternoon, when the speeches continued, though all addresses were excellent. cellent. The speakers were Mrs. David de Sola Pool, Baruch Zukerman, Geda-



DR. ISRAEL GOLDSTEIN

liah Bublick and Rabbi Meyer Berlin, the latter three in Yiddish.

The Palestine Session

Monday evening, August 30, was scheduled as Palestine Night, and several of the most distinguished orators of American Zionism spoke. Judge Louis E. Levinthal, presiding, declared that "when our Zionist objectives are defined in clear and unambiguous terms, prejudices frequently disappear and opponents become friends of the cause.

Zionist speakers included Dr. Nahum Goldmann, Dr. Solomon Goldman, Dr. James G. Heller and Dr. Abba Hillel Silver. It may truly be said that "there were giants on that dais."

Unforgettable Moments

NAHUM GOLDMANN: "Many injustices have been done us by the British Administration in Palestine and by the Gov-ernment in London, and some of the greatest spokesmen of the British people have been the first to acknowledge it. But I do not believe that any other people would have performed its task as a man-

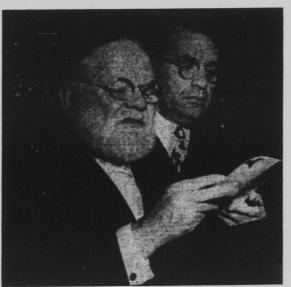
datory power in a more satisfactory way than the British. And let us, a people of a long past and a long memory, not forget in all the heat and resent-ment against British policies and colonial administration in Palestine, that the British were the first to recognize the need of the Jewish people for a land of its own and to issue the Balfour Declaration."

DR. SOLOMON GOLDMAN: "Let us Jews do for our brethren in Palestine at least what the Arabs are doing for the Arabs of Palestine. The Arabs of Egypt and the Arabs of Saudi Arabia and Iraq and Yemen are speaking without equivocation—at least let us speak of our 600, 000 without equivocation.'

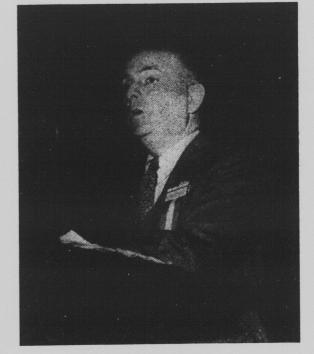
DR. JAMES G. HELLER: "We have not come together into this Conference because we take pleasure in seeing each other's faces. We have not come together for the enjoyment of listening to brilliant and envisioned addresses. We have not come together for the purpose of barren argument. Let us not forget that this Conference has but one purpose, to exert the maximum power which is within the hands of the American Jewish community on behalf of our brothers in Europe, and those who may go to Palestine and live there.'

DR. SILVER: "I am for unity in Israel for the realization of the total program of Jewish life: relief, rescue, reconstruction and the national restoration in Palestine. I am not for unity on a fragment of the program-for a fragment of the program is a betrayal of the rest of the program, and a tragic futility besides. We can not truly rescue the Jews of Europe unless we have free immigration into Palestine. We can not have free immigration into Palestine unless our political rights are recognized there. Our political rights cannot be recognized there unless our historic connection with the country is acknowledged and our right to rebuild our national home is reaffirmed. These are inseparable links in the chain. The whole chain breaks if one of the links

is missing."
ISRAEL H. GOLDBERG, for the Jewish Labor Committee, announced that the Committee has a policy only on such matters as gain the unanimous support of its members. On the question of a Jewish Commonwealth there is no such unanimity—therefore they have no policy. With regard to Palestine, however, he said:



RABBI B. L. LEVINTHAL, who pronounced the invocation opening the Conference. MR. MONSKY



DR. JAMES G. HELLER

"We declare our solidarity with organized Jewish labor in Palestine and its demands regarding Jewish immigration and colonization of Palestine. We demand the immediate annulment of the White Paper, and the guarantee of free Jewish immigration, land purchase and colonization of Palestine."

A Sneaking Attack

Delegates arose Tuesday morning and discovered in the New York Times a huge display, in five columns, of the latest statement of the American Council for Judaism. The statement opposed the effort to "establish a national Jew-ish state in Palestine or anywhere else as a philosophy of defeatism and one which does not offer a practical solution of the Jewish problem.'

Indignation reigned supreme at the Conference. The obviously deliberate attempt to sabotage the decisions of the Conference, and to give the impression that the Conference was just another partisan Jewish group, was bitterly resented by almost every delegate.

At the afternoon session Mr. Monsky revealed that the reaction of the dele-

gates had been overpowering.
"The pressure on the part of the delegates to take the floor was enormous, and irresistible", he said, "and finally the Chair decided, having denied all the requests to speak because we could have gone on forever allowing people to express their resentment, that he would recognize four speakers and then make a statement.

The speakers were Dr. James G. Heller, Dr. Robert Gordis, Rabbi Joseph H. Lookstein and Dr. Wise. The Chairman then read a brief statement characterizing the action of the Council as "reprehensible impertinence." All four of the speakers used stronger language.

Upon motion of Mr. Fred M. Butzel, of Detroit, Mr. Monsky's statement was unanimously adopted as expressing the views of the entire Conference.

> Two members of the Council, who were among the 500 delegates to the Conference, could not be found for immediate comment. They were Rabbi Louis Wolsey of Philadelphia and Rabbi Ira E. Sanders, of Little Rock, Ark.

Other speakers at this session included Rabbi Max Nussbaum, Rabbi Jacob Hoff-

man, Louis Segal, Adolph Held and Dr. Joseph Tennenbaum.

A dispute which had been aired in committee for two days as to who should be the chairman, who the president, who the supreme head of the Conference, was finally settled with the decision that fourteen individuals, all equal in rank, should serve as the praesidium. The fourteen included: Dr. Stephen S. Wise, Henry Monsky, Judge Joseph M. Proskauer, Adolph Held, Leon Gellman, Rabbi Israel Goldstein, Hayim Greenberg, Herman Hoffman, Edgar J. Kaufmann, Judge Louis E. Levinthal, Mrs. David de Sola Pool, Adolf Rosenberg and Carl Sherman. Mr. Simon Shetzer was added to the Secretariat of seven.

The Palestine Resolution

Speakers at the sixth session, on Wednesday afternoon, included Rabbi Irving Miller, H. Leivick, Rabbi Philip Bernstein and Israel Mereminski.

From the standpoint of most delegates, however, THE session was held Wednesday evening. Dr. Silver read the complete text of the resolution on Palestine (printed in full in this issue). First mention of the phrase "Jewish Commonwealth" occasioned a spontaneous demonstration climaxed by the singing of Hatikvah. Many glanced furtively at Judge Proskauer, who rose with the throng and remained standing each time the Hatikvah was sung—and it was sung the Hatikvah was sung—and it was sung

Every phrase in the resolution expressing a Zionist demand met with a tumultuous reception. The resolution was seconded by Mr. Monsky, speaking as a delegate from the floor of the Conference ference.

Dr. Wise, presiding called for a vote: "All in favor raise their delegates' cards.'

A sea of cards appeared, waving madly, subsiding only after repeated taps of the gavel.
"All opposed . . . ?"

On the platform Judge Proskauer quietly raised his card shoulder high. The delegates turned in their seats, craning their necks to locate other votes. Far out in the middle of the big hall, three scattered cards were

to be seen—saved for merciful anonymity by their distance from the platform.

Dr. Wise declared the resolution adopted by "an overwhelming majority", but delegates rose in protest. "It was more than overwhelming," shouted M. J. Slonim of St. Louis, and Dr. Wise ruled that there were four negative

Statement of Dissent

Judge Proskauer was recognized at this point and he came forward to make a statement. A hush settled on the hall. "I think I understand the feelings experienced by Daniel when he entered the lion's den," he began, amid laughter. The tension was eased. "You don't agree with me-I don't agree with many of you. That is give and take."

He then read a prepared statement recording the dissent of the three delegates representing the American Jewish Committee. Repeating their deep concern for the welfare and proper development of Palestine, he said that it was the opinion of his group that the resolu-tion as couched "is unwise because it may carry with it embarrassment to the Governments of the United Nations, and is calculated to jeopardize the status of

How the Conference Was Created

1. Summoned by Henry Monsky, representatives of 32 national Jewish organizations gathered in Pittsburgh on January 23, 1943, to consider what steps might be taken to formulate a post-war program for American Jews. 2. The Pittsburgh conference decided to call a democratically constituted American Jewish Assembly (later called Conference), and an Executive Committee was set up to implement the plan.

3. At 135 electoral communal and regional gatherings, 375 delegates, nominated by local Jewish organizations, were elected to the Conference. 125 additional delegates, making a total of 500, were named by 65 participating national organizations.

4. On August 29, 1943, the Conference convened, and adopted its own organization procedure. All 500 delegates were present.



JUDGE LOUIS E. LEVINTHAL

The closing session was permeated with an air of solemnity. Resolutions on immediate rescue of Jews from Europe, and on post-war security for all peoples, couched in the strongest terms, were passed unanimously.

The most prolonged and tempestuous ovation was accorded to Mr. Monsky on the introduction of a resolution expressing thanks to him. Mr. Monsky was visibly overcome.

Other business transacted at the session included the reading, by Judge Levinthal, of a message to Dr. Weizmann, thanking him for his own greetings. Speakers included David Wertheim, Rudolph Kahn, Rabbi S. P. Wohlgelernter, Judge Harry M. Fishers. gelernter, Judge Harry M. Fisher and Hayim Greenberg.

In a solemn atmosphere Dr. Silver expressed the gratitude of all for the great achievements of the historic Conference. The session was closed by Dr. Milton Steinberg.

The American Jewish Conference, assembly of a united American Israel, was adjourned—to reconvene within a year.

Jews and even prejudice the fullest development of the Jewish settlement in Palestine itself."

Despite this difference of opinion, he made it clear, the American Jewish Committee would remain within the Conference.

Closing Sessions

The two closing sessions, on Thursday, were devoted to reports of the respective committees, and to discussion and action on the resolutions presented.

During the afternoon there was a mild flurry when Moshe Furmansky, spokesman for Hashomer Hatzair, which stands on a platform of bi-nationalism in Palestine, obtained the floor, and announced his opposition to a Jewish Common-

Judge Meier Steinbrink of Brooklyn declared: "I came here with an open mind. I learned much-and I have contributed to a result which I believe to be both correct and just."

The recommendation that the Conference be reconvened for another session within a year met with some opposition. Some delegates objected that it was the first step toward making the Conference a permanent body, and they were op-posed to that. Many opinions were expressed, but the recommendation of the committee, to meet again within a year, was adopted overwhelmingly.

Tender Reception to Mrs. Silverman

That the overwhelming majority of British Jewry is opposed to any compromise that would curtail the right of the Jewish people to reclaim Eretz Yis-rael as a Jewish Commonwealth, was the report brought back from England by Mrs. Archibald Silverman, widely known Zionist leader and orator. Mrs. Silverman made the statement at a luncheon given in her honor by the administra tions of the Palestine Foundation Fund and the Jewish National Fund, in New York last week. Close to 200 delegates to the American Jewish Conference attended the luncheon, over which Bernard A. Rosenblatt, President of the Board of Directors of the Palestine Foundation Fund in the United States, presided, and at which Dr. Israel Goldstein, President of the Jewish National Fund of America, and Leib Jaffe, Director of the Keren Hayesod in Jerusalem were the speakers.

The tribute was paid Mrs. Silverman on the occasion of her return by clipper from England following an extended tour of the British Isles in the interests of the Keren Hayesod campaign, which netted the amount of £250,000 for the Jewish Agency's Palestine colonization

instrument.

HE LETTER BOX

Correspondence from readers is invited. The editors assume no responsibility for the views expressed in this column and reserve the right to abridge unduly long letters.

Who Will Help?

TO THE EDITOR:

We thank you very much for your letter as well as for the reading material which we received yesterday. You ask us what kind of support we require. We think that the necessary help can We think that the necessary neip can be divided into two groups, that is, the material support—books, magazines, prayerbooks, text books for children—and the spiritual support. Since you want to know what articles we need here we can tell you that anything in the Jewish line will be welcome and useful to us. One thing we consider important and that is that we receive those magazines and newspapers as regularly as

We have no real Jewish leader here who could direct and form the Jewish life. We don't know whether all this can be explained or done by mail, but we would regard it as very important and heartening if you would give us instruc-tions as to how to build up Jewish life and bring more people to recognition

that they are Jews. One thing we are trying hard to get, but so far we have not been successful. We need musical notes to form a choir for our services. We believe that there exists a book with all melodies from Levandovsky. Is that true? And if so, could you help us to get it?

DR. ERNST FIALLA, Association of Jewish Settlers.

Sosua Settlement Dominican Republic.

REP RO DUCED

Editor's Note: Readers will doubtless recall the first letter from this group, appearing in the July 16th number of THE NEW PALESTINE. Their request for books, papers, music, etc., as well as for suggestions on organizing the Jewish community, should not go unheeded. THE NEW PALESTINE will be glad to transmit all material in Yiddish, Hebrew, German or English that may be contributed by its readers for this purpose. The response from American Jews should be warm and Acknowledgment of all gifts nerous. will be made in these columns.

TO THE EDITOR:

It would be most desirable and helpful if the next issue of THE NEW PALESTINE, as well as that of the Hadassah News-Letter, were to contain an appeal to organized Zionists to enroll their children in the Hebrew Schools of their respective communities at the beginning of the season.

While Zionists are, and always have been, vitally concerned with Jewish education so far as general ideology and organization programs are concerned, the interest on the part of individual Zionists has often been quite vicarious. This has resulted in numerous Zionists sincerely claiming an interest in Jewish education, but doing very little about giving an adequate education to their own children.

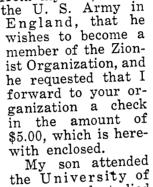
I need hardly state that in these trying times when Jewish life must be intensified in this country if there are to be well-informed Zionists in the future, and when religious education is being stressed by Jews and non-Jews alike, our own Zionists ought to take the lead in enlarging the enrollment in our Hebrew and Religious Schools everywhere. SYLVAN H. KOHN.

Newark, N. J.

Joins Z.O.A. from Overseas

TO THE EDITOR:

I received word from my son, Louis, who is now with the U.S. Army in



Illinois, and studied Jewish history. He said that if every Jewish youth would LOUIS SHULEWITZ have the opportu-

nity to study the Jewish past, he would have an entirely different conception of the Jewish problem and struggles.

He was president of Avukah there, and took his duties much to heart. He constantly deplored and was depressed by the lack of understanding of his fellow classmates for the Jewish culture and the ideals of Judaism. Upon his safe arrival overseas he asked me to contribute to the American Red Cross, which he considers the outstanding humanitarian organization, and to the Zionist Organization, which in his opinion is doing much in keeping Judaism and its culture alive for the generations to

If possible he would like to receive THE NEW PALESTINE regularly. ANSHEL SHULEWITZ.

Peoria, Ill.

Lack of Enlightenment

TO THE EDITOR:

I'm late, I know, but I have just read the June issue of THE NEW PALESTINE, and in particular, Mr. Almi's article, on which comment is invited. A few writers, a few politicians, a few others have taken the trouble to study the story of the Jews—but how about the millions of people? Not even a small portion know anything about the Jews, the Palestine question, Zionism. True, lying propaganda has been thrust upon them, and of this they have believed plenty. But there is no central, constructive educational force behind the organized (?) Jewish community—a force to spread not "lying and harmful propaganda," but "true enlightenment." Quoting Mr. Almi, "We do have something to tell the world." Why don't we have a propaganda agency or to use the polite physical ganda agency, or to use the polite phrase, a public relations agency?

I worked for years at the Columbia Broadcasting System in Washington. I saw release after release directed to the news room and commentators from the British Information Service, from the Finnish Legation, from the Russian, Belgian, the Netherlands, Canadian, Korean,

etc.—all pleading their causes. Never did I see any from the Jewish community of Palestine giving their side of the picture, or publicity to any of their achieve-

We Zionists are organized, but we must do more. Every other group does it. Wouldn't you think that the American Red Cross would not have to resort to publicity—but no—they maintain large public relations staffs throughout the world. Why shouldn't we?

Yes, I definitely agree with Mr. Almi. We must have a Central Agency for Public Relations for the Enlightenment of the People. ESTHER KRAVITZ.

Washington, D. C.

All Right-Minded People

TO THE EDITOR:

Thank you for the pamphlet, "Palestine—A Jewish Commonwealth In Our Time". You are doing a fine work. Surely all right-minded people hope that the Jewish people who have suffered so greatly will soon have a national homeland. Time is so short when there is so much suffering and so many innocent people are dying merely because they are Jews that I trust that all efforts will be made to achieve alleviation of their suffering at the earliest possible moment. In addition to a homeland for the Jews, I would like to see our own Government set an example before the world by having Congress appropriate funds for the settlement of the persecuted on some suitable American soil such as, perhaps, Alaska.

SYLVESTER J. HEMLEBEN, PH.D. Head, Dept. of History and Social Studies.

Fordham University, N. Y.

Experts in Palestine

TO THE EDITOR:

What ridiculous statements are made in your edition of August 29. In the article on page 20, "The Best Kept Secret", there is a quotation: "... the Carl Zeiss works of Jena having been transferred to the Holy Land a few years previously."

As much as I would like the Carl Zeiss works being in Palestine, everybody who knows anything about these plants knows that they are still in Germany.

R. A. MANDELBAUM.

Yonkers, N. Y.

Editor's Note: The physical properties of the plant may remain in Germany, but many of the most highly skilled technicians, including the general manager of the works, are today in Palestine, at the service of the United Nations.

TO THE EDITOR:

Our problem, I think, is not so much with those Jews who approach their Jewishness with a negative attitude, as with those who approach it with no atti-tude at all. In the army, where the illusion of losing separate Jewish iden-tity seems so close to these people, it is almost impossible to talk of Zionism to

them at all. . . .

It is a tribute to the justice on our side, that in spite of our small numbers and the power of our enemies, the cause of a Jewish nation lives on in courage and idealism. The Zionist may be either a dreamer who glories in the words of

the Bible, or he may be a practical, hard-headed man who has read the lesson of the past few years, but he can not be faint-hearted enough to quail before injustice, even when backed by the force of the British Colonial Office and Ibn

PVT. HARVEY MILLER.

University, Mississippi.

TO THE EDITOR:

I was made very happy yesterday by receiving The New Palestine. It really was swell to receive it. Since I have been here in England I have not seen any Zionist publications besides THE NEW PALESTINE. I would appreciate it if you would also send me some Zionist pamphlets.

PVT. MILTON SCHWARTZ.

Somewhere in England.

TO THE EDITOR:

THE NEW PALESTINE is more important to me than ever before. After I have read it, I pass it on to other soldiers. It eventually reaches the local civilian community, where it is warmly welcomed.

CPL. MORTON JARASHOW. Somewhere in England.

TO THE EDITOR:

The article that appeared in the New York Times on August 31, released by the American Council for Degrading Judaism, was not only a stab in the back—but also a stab in the heart of world Jewry. Just when American Jewry is striving to achieve unity, and through their democratically elected representatives present the case of the Jews to the world, a group of self-appointed leaders, including the Times personnel, who, by the way, are not recognized by the Jewish people as their leaders, attempt to block

S/SGT. EDWARD STEINFELD. Buffalo, N. Y.

Develop Plans for Music Colony in Palestine

During the past year the fund established by the Palestine Symphonic Choir Project has continued to grow, and plans ow being developed for the founding of an artist colony in Palestine com-posed of cantors and singers. Cantor Myro Glass, of Indianapolis, chairman of the project, declared that the plan calls for the purchase of 2,000 dunams of land through the Jewish National

It is hoped that the project will result in the creation of a symphonic choir and the holding of annual music festivals on the Salzburg scale. The colony will bear the name Asaph, after the choir leader of the Second Temple. During time of war, when implementation of the project is temporarily halted, funds of the organization are being invested in U. S. War Bonds.

Other officers, in addition to Cantor Glass, are Prof. Jacob Weinberg, Vice Chairman, and Dr. James G. Heller, Treasurer.

Dr. Silver Heads Emergency Comm. Executive

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, of Cleveland, was summoned to active political leadership in the Zionist movement last week when he was unanimously elected chairman of the executive and political committee of the American Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs.

He succeeds Judge Louis E. Levinthal, who is also president of the Zionist

Organization of America.

Dr. Stephen S. Wise of New York is chairman of the Emergency Committee and Dr. Silver was elected to serve with him as co-chairman. The Emergency Committee acts in behalf of the four major Zionist organizations in the United States, the Hadassah, Women's Zionist Organization of America, Mizrachi Organization of America, Poale Zion-Zeire Zion of America and the Zionist Organization of America.

Dr. Silver has long been active in Zionist affairs. He is national chairman of the United Palestine Appeal, which, combining the fund-raising efforts of the Palestine Foundation Fund and the Jewish National Fund, is the central financial instrument in this country for the rebuilding of Palestine. He is national co-chairman of the United Jewish Appeal for Refugees, Overseas Needs and Palestine, and a vice-president of the

A graduate of the University of Cincinnati and Hebrew Union College in 1915, Dr. Silver occupied a pulpit in Wheeling, West Virginia, and in 1917 became the rabbi of The Temple in Cleveland, where he has been active in liberal and social movements.

Zionist From Belgium Active

A Zionist from Belgium, now in New York, who has pitched in with a will, and participated vigorously in every



CHARLES WOLF

phase of Zionist activity in this country, is Charles Wolf, treasurer of the West Side District No. 7. In Belgium Mr. Wolf was treasurer of the Antwerp Federation of Charities, and an active figure in the Zionist movement. He has been in

New York for only three years, but has already set a record for American Zionists to aim at.

In the past 24 months he has personally enrolled nearly 400 members in the Z. O. A., and expects to boost the total even higher. His activity in behalf of the Jewish

National Fund was recognized by his Zionist colleagues, who have inscribed his name in the J. N. F. Golden Book, and plans are now under way to plant a grove in his name. Friendly, affable, energetic, Charles Wolf is one of the most valued members of District 7 and of the Z. O. A. in New York. He is one of a number of Zionists from Belgium, now in this country, who are taking an active part in Zionist work and leadership.

New J. N. F. Stamp



The beginning of the High Holiday season on the first day of the Hebrew month of Ellul (September 1st) has been marked in many communities through-out the nation by the distribution of the latest Jewish National Fund stamp (reproduced above). Issued on the ad-vent of the New Year 5704, which the Ellul season is ushering in in the life of the Synagogue, the Keren Kayemeth stamp is designed as a token of Jewry's faith in the victory of the United Nations and in the triumph of the principles of justice and freedom which shall include rescue for the surviving remnants of European Jewry and the establishment of a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine.

American Jews Aided 1,800,000 In Four Years

In the four years since the outbreak of World War II, a period in which the Jews are estimated to have suffered 3,000,000 civilian casualties in Nazi-held Europe, American Jewry, through its contributions to the United Jewish Appeal for Refugees, Overseas Needs and Palestine, brought relief, rehabilitation and resettlement assistance to a total of 1,800,000 homeless Jews and refugees in Europe, Palestine and the Western Hemisphere, it was announced last week by William Rosenwald, Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver and Rabbi Jonah B. Wise, National Chairmen of the U. J. A.

The largest rescue campaign ever organized by the Jews of the United States, the U.J.A., has raised approximately \$15,000,000 annually since September 1, 1939, for the overseas war relief and rehabilitation activities of the Joint Distribution Committee; for support of the war effort and rebuilding of the Jewish national homeland in Palestine maintained through the United Palestine Appeal and for the program of assistance to newcomers in the United States carried on by the National Refugee Service.

Mr. Rosenwald and Rabbis Silver and Wise estimated that during the past four years the Joint Distribution Committee. whose war relief experience dates back to World War I, provided various forms of assistance from emergency relief to emigration aid, to an average of more than 900,000 persons in more than 52 countries scattered over five continents. In the past four years the war mobilization program of the 584,000 Jews in Palestine and their activities in providing for the settlement and rehabilitation of refugees from war-shattered Europe were supported by the United Palestine Appeal. Here in the United States, an overwhelming majority of the 253,000 newcomers of all creeds who have found a haven in this country were helped in adjusting themselves to the American way of life by the National Refugee

Brooklyn, N. Y.—At a meeting of the Brighton Beach reorganization committee recently, the following temporary officers were elected: Abraham Okun, President; Elias J. Cohen, Secretary; Samuel Sporn, Treasurer. Other members of the committee are Dr. Leo Gilman, Morris Okun, Aaron Bubishnik and S.

Dayton, Ohio-A Herzl-Bialik Memorial Meeting was held recently with Rabbi Jacob B. Agus and Paul J. Gaiser as speakers. Delegates to the convention are Rabbi Agus, Leonard S. Becker, John Froung, Philip Sokol and Ben Duberstein. Mr. Gaiser will represent the Ohio Valley Region.

Forest Hills, L. I .- District officers elected for the coming year are: Murray Langbaum, President; Irving Entin, Herman B. Friedman, Joseph Perloff, Vice Presidents; Abraham Isaacson, Secretary; Irving H. Wagner, Treasurer.

Green Bay, Wisc.—New District officers are: Harry Kanter, President; Meyer Cohen, Vice President; Abe Abrahams, Secretary; Abe Berk, Treasurer.

New York, N.Y.—The newest Zionist District in New York has been formed by Hakoah, composed of former members of the Hakoah Sports Club in Vienna and others who are interested in integrating a Zionist platform with an athletic program. The group's clubhouse is located at 245 West 72nd Street, New York City.

Norfolk, Va.-New District officers for the coming year are: Dr. Louis L. Berlin, Honorary President; Morton Cushner, President; T. J. Amelson, Secretary; J. A. Myers, Treasurer; Dr. Paul Reich, Louis B. Fine, David Friedman and Joseph L. Hecht, Vice Presidents.

Philadelphia, Pa.—Officers elected at a recent meeting of the Strawberry Man-sion District are: Rabbi Aaron Decter, President; Tobias Goldberg, first Vice President, to succeed to the Presidency on Rabbi Decter's call to chaplain duty with the army; Lt. Samuel Lieberman, Honorary Vice President; Rabbi Solomon Barsel, Second Vice President; Simon Bricklin, J. Louis Blumberg, Samuel Silver, Secretaries; Lawrence Roberts, Treasurer; Ephraim Goldman and Saul Savitt, Youth Commission.

St. Louis, Mo.—The following District officers were elected at the recent annual meeting: President, I. R. Goodman; Vice Presidents, Dr. Alex S. Wolf, Prof. G. Klausner, Edward Wittcoff, Dr. N. N. Yalem, A. Pearlmutter; Secretary, Meyer Kranzberg; Financial Secretary, Alfred Frager; Treasurer, Louis J. Robinson.

Youngstown, Ohio-The local District, which has achieved excellent results in its membership drive, has been headed this year by Oscar H. Altschuler, President; Morris Tamarkin, Jack Robins and Morris Mendelson, Vice Presidents; Irwin I. Kretzer, Secretary; Samuel Stressels and James Ross, Treasurers. J. Edgar Robins is membership chairman.

Z.O.A. Convention To Study Zionist Plans, Program

The sessions of the 46th Annual Convention of the Z.O.A., which will convene beginning Saturday night at the Deshler-Wallick Hotel at Columbus, Ohio, will be addressed by outstanding leaders of American Zionism and the Jewish community, including Dr. Stephen S. Wise, Dr. Israel Goldstein, Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, Judge Louis E. Levinthal, Louis Lipsky, Dr. Solomon Goldman, Robert Szold, Dr. James G. Heller and Judge Morris Rothenberg.

Other convention speakers will include William B. Ziff, author of "The Coming Battle of Germany," Rabbi Joshua Loth Liebman and Dr. Henry A. Atkinson.

The opening session of the Convention will feature the presentation of colors under the auspices of the Jewish War Veterans of America. At the same session addresses of greeting will be delivered by Governor John W. Bricker, Mayor Floyd F. Green of Columbus, and Mr. Ben Kaufman, National Commander of the Jewish War Veterans and holder of the Congressional Medal of Honor.

The opening session will also feature memorial services for members of the armed forces who have died while in the service of their country.

The war-time annual gathering of American Zionists will deal with major issues affecting the future status of Palestine, with the Jewish position throughout Europe in a post-war world and with plans for an expansion of Zionist efforts in this country.

The Palestine situation in the light of the latest developments on the war and political fronts will be reviewed in the annual message of Judge Louis E. Levinthal, president.

Maurice M. Boukstein, general convention chairman, announced that delegates representing some 500 Zionist units throughout the country will be in attendance. Advance reports indicate the largest attendance in Zionist history, with interest stirred particularly by the American Jewish Conference.

New England Convention

The 23rd annual convention of the New England Zionist Region was held last week-end, September 4 and 5, at the Hotel Statler, Boston, and was attended by a full representation of delegates from all parts of the Region. Guest speaker of the convention was Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, who addressed the Sunday afternoon session.

Other speakers included Elihu D. Stone, Simon Shetzer, Mendel Fisher, and the annual presidential report by Max Kabatznick. Reports were heard on various phases of Zionist activity, including J. N. F., Youth Commission, membership, war service, education, Zionist Youth Camp and Zionist problems and responsibilities. Dr. Arthur I. Shain was general convention chairman, assisted by Samuel Caploe and George D. Rossyn, co-chairmen.

Coleman Silbert, of Brookline, was elected President.

Have You Moved?

Please notify THE NEW PALESTINE promptly if you move, and be sure to give both old and new addresses. Do not forget to designate the postal zone in which you live. This number helps expedite delivery.

200 Attended Brandeis Youth Institute

The activities of the American Zionist Youth Commission will be discussed at a "Youth" Session of the Z.O.A. Convention in Columbus, Ohio. Dr. Shlomo Bardin, Executive Director of the Commission and Director of Brandeis Camp Institute, and Herman L. Weisman, chairman of the Commission, will render reports.

Dr. Bardin announced that in the two month institute ending August 28th, six complete sessions for Zionist youth leadership training were given at the Brandeis Camp Institute, which is located at Winterdale, Pa. Nearly 200 students, between the ages of 18 and 25, attended the Institute, coming from 30 states, including California, Nebraska, Texas, and Ohio. Seventy-eight Jewish communities were represented.

Among the distinguished Jewish scholars and Zionist thinkers who participated in the sessions of the Institute were Dr. Horace M. Kallen, Dr. Oscar Janowsky, Abraham Revusky, Dr. Milton Steinberg, Dr. Ira Eisenstein, Dr. Kurt Lewin, Dr. Maurice Pekarsky, Emanuel Neumann and others, lecturing on Jewish history, various phases of Zionism, Palestine, post-war reconstruction, organization problems, and techniques of

group leadership.
The Institute's permanent staff included Dr. Bardin as Director, Mrs. Maurice Pekarsky and Miss Helen Seff as assistant directors, Mr. Chemjo Vinaver directing choral work and Palestinian music, Ruth Jonas Bardin teaching arts and crafts, and Mr. Avshalom Carmeli in charge of gardening.

Synagogue Membership Plan Continues to Grow

Two more synagogues were this week listed as having joined the Z. O. A. en masse. Institutions in New Jersey and in Massachusetts took the action within recent weeks.

Beth Hillel Congregation, of Millville, N. J., through the energetic and devoted efforts of Samuel Spivack, has enrolled 100% of its members in the Atlantic City Zionist District, which is headed by Joseph Halbert.

In Pittsfield, Mass., Congregation Gathering of Israel has likewise voted to affiliate its membership with the Zionist organization, and dues are to be paid through the synagogue's treasury.

Today I had an interesting discussion with a fellow who has been farther East and has visited Tel

Aviv in Palestine.

He told me that Tel

Aviv is a great mod-

ern city and resem-

bles very closely

many cities in the U.S. The Jews

have done a wonder-

ful job in Palestine.

He tells me that

Palestinian Arabs are far better edu-

cated and cleaner

people than the ones we see out here. One Arab told him

Undoubtedly the Jews have been mainly responsible for raising the standard of living in Palestine. And in my opinion strife between Jews and Arabs out there has been instigated by Arab aristocrats and wealthy British concerns who are endeavoring to keep the common man

Palestine for the Jews is a slogan which should be on all our lips. Jews have suffered altogether too much in the past ten years to take any more injustice with a grain of salt. We will have to fight for our rights. Jews and Arabs alike must revolt against the usurpation of human rights and dignity by the smug, wealthy few. If this sounds chauvinistic,

The unalterable fact is that Palestine was built up by Jewish capital, the flow of which was induced by British politicians; that the Jews need a homeland where they can migrate without hin-drance; that the Arabs there can live peaceably with the Jews in peacetime as well as in war; that the Arab masses are being led by unscrupulous tyrants of wealth who in reality have no interest but their own self-interest in opposing justice. Any Jew who is not a Zionist

LT. DAVID I. KRAUSHAAR.

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Scrap Rubber Reclaimed

The reclamation of used rubber has become Palestine's newest war industry. The Hamgaper Cooperative Company of Haifa has opened a factory at Ramataim, and the monthly capacity is expected to be in the vicinity of 500 tons. The entire output will be devoted to military use, part of it being used by the company for retreading tires in its Haifa factory, and for the manufacture of other rubber articles needed by the army.

Some 100 workmen are at present employed in the Haifa factory, and more will be added as the new plant converts waste rubber into a usable product. The plant will use a chemo-mechanical process which does not involve any foreign patent rights. The machinery used is manufactured in Palestine, and the chemicals are locally produced.

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Get your box of Ex-Lax todayat all Drug Stores in 10c and 25c sizes As a precaution, use only as directed

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Our Foreign Department will be glad to give you any information pertaining to the assistance of relatives and friends stranded in European countries.

Please write, telephone, or visit our Foreign

Amalgamated Bank of New York 11-15 Union Square W., New York City AL. 4-1500

For Rosh Hashonah

We respectfully urge that you order early for the High Holidays to insure timely delivery.

Prayer books, bibles, mahzorim, talasim and gift books of Jewish interest for every occasion.

The Romance of a People—By Howard Fast. Illustrated by Rafaello Busoni.

Deluxe Edition \$2.50
School Edition 1.50
The author of "Haym Salomon,"
"Citizen Tom Paine" and the "Unvanquished" gives us a brilliant, exciting, and dramatic story of Jewish History.

The Picture Book History of the Jews—By Howard & Bette

Children of seven and up will particularly enjoy this four color picture book introduction to Jewish History.

Jewish Holidays and Festivals Jewish Customs and Ceremonies-By Ben M. Edidin. Each \$1.50

These two illustrated books on our memorial days and rites are proving more popular every day. For students and adults alike, they round out a complete picture of Jewish life with which everyone should be familiar.

The Complete Bar Mitzvah Book-By Rabbi Joseph Marcus \$1.25

Contains illustrated instructions and useful glossary in English. Music chants by Moshe Nathanson; includes all the Haftorahs in Hebrew.

A Treasure Hunt in Judaism— By Rabbi Harold P. Smith. Illustrated.

Here, for the first time, is a complete text book for American Jewish children, on Jewish concepts, written by an American born and trained educator, and from an American orthodox point of view. First edition sold before

West of the Nile, a biographical story of Saadia Gaon-By Abraham Burstein. Illustrated by Howard Simon.

\$1.25 In commemoration of the 1000th anniversary of Saadia Gaon, Rabbi Burstein has prepared this delightful tale for youngsters. Both entertaining and educational, it has proved very popular.

The Boy of Vilna—By Abraham Burstein. Illustrated.

\$1.25

This story of Vilna's great rabbi and educator will add knowledge to our youngsters, besides being a fine story in Rabbi Burstein's very best style.

Write for our complete catalogue, sent free upon request.

Hebrew Publishing Co. 79 Delancey St., New York, New York

Buy U. S. War Savings Bonds

DAVID KRAUSHAAR that after the war strife between the Arabs and Jews will break out again. down and maintain the status quo. so be it. (7) REP RO DUCED by now is a traitor. Somewhere in North Africa. of all kinds

7 things you should do to keep prices down!

If prices soar, this war will last longer, and we could all go broke when it's over. Uncle Sam is fighting hard to keep prices down. But he can't do it alone. It's up to you to battle against any and every rising price! To help win the war and keep it from being a hollow victory afterward—you must keep prices down. And here's how you can do it:



1. BUY ONLY WHAT YOU NEED

Don't buy a thing unless you cannot get along without it. Spending can't create more goods. It makes them scarce and prices go up. So make everything you own last longer. "Use it up, wear it out, make it do, or do without."



2. PAY NO MORE THAN CEILING PRICES

371/3503

If you do pay more, you're party to a black market that boosts prices. And if prices go up through the ceiling, your money will be worth less. Buy rationed goods only with stamps.



3. SUPPORT HIGHER TAXES

It's easier and cheaper to pay for the war as you go. And it's better to pay big taxes now—while you have the extra money to do it. Every dollar put into taxes means a dollar less to bid for scarce goods and boost prices.



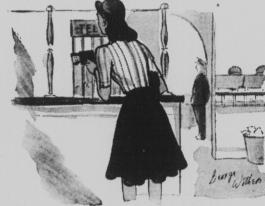
4. PAY OFF OLD DEBTS

Paid-off debts make you independent now . . . and make your position a whale of a lot safer against the day you may be earning less. So pay off every cent you owe—and avoid making new debts as you'd avoid heiling Hitler!



5. DON'T ASK MORE MONEY

in wages, or in prices for goods you have to sell. That puts prices up for the things all of us buy. We're all in this war together—business men, farmers and workers. Increases come out of everybody's pocket—including yours.



6. SAVE FOR THE FUTURE

Money in the savings bank will come in handy for emergencies. And money in life insurance protects your family, protects you in old age. See that you're ready to meet any situation.



7. BUY WAR BONDS

and hold them. Buy as many as you can. Then cut corners to buy more. Bonds put money to work fighting the war instead of letting it shove up prices. They mean safety for you tomorrow. And they'll help keep prices down today.

KEEP PRICES DOWN...

Use it up . . . Wear it out . . .

Make it do . . . Or do without.

This advertisement, prepared by the War Advertising Council, is contributed by this magazine in cooperation with the Magazine Publishers of America.

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No. 827

HIS Majesty's Ambassador at Washington presents his compliments to His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and has the honour to transmit to him the undermentioned documents.

British Embassy Washington, D. C.

September 29,..., 1943.

Reference to previous correspondence:

Washington despatch No. 795 of Sept. 23

Description of	f Enclosure.
Name and Date.	Subject.
"The New Palestine" Dated September 24	Vol. XXXIV No. 1
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No. 827

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September 29, ..., 1943.

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Dated September 24	. •

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5-926 87 31

BRITISH EMBASSY WASHINGTON, D. C.

October 19th, 1943

51/61/43

INDEXED

Dear Department,

Our despatch No. 795 of 23rd September, 1943 about the American Jewish Conference in New York.

A mis-type occurred in paragraph 7 and we should be grateful if you would correct "Non-Zionists" in that paragraph to read "New Zionists".

Yours ever,
Chancery.

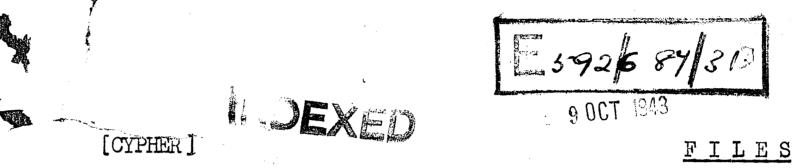
P.S. We have sent a copy of the despatch to Cairo. (Minister of State)

Eastern Department, Foreign Office, London, S.W.l.

-0 371/35039

:ference:-





FROM WASHINGTON TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Sir R. Campbell
No. 4507
7th October, 1943.

D. 3.02 a.m. 8th October, 1943. R. 10.15 a.m. 8th October, 1943. 146

SSSSS

My despatch No. 795 paragraph 7. £ 5-926 /87/31. For "Non Zionists" read "New Zionists". in depr.

X M 13/10

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1943

FROM Mr. E.B.Boyd (Colonial Office) to Mr.Baxter No.75998/1/43.

Dated 4th Oct.1943.

Received 6th Oct.1943.
in Registry

E: Palestine and Transjordan

Palestine Arms trial.
Refers to Mr.Hankey's letter of 27th September
(E 5702/87/31). As regards the suggestion in Rabbi Wise's aide memoire that U.S. correspondents at Cairo were invited to come to Jerusalem for the trial, the C.O. telegraphed to the High Commissioner 1132 dated 2nd October, copy enclosed. The position relating to the Agency's request for an enquiry, is that Ben Gurion addressed a letter to High Commissioner the text of which is contained in the enclosed Palestine Saving telegram No.170 dated 14th August(Repeated Minister of State 2048). Also attaches a copy of telegram No.1131 dated 2nd October to Palestine about the two Questions by Rear Admiral Beamish for answer in Farliament.

Last Paper.

E5 926.

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of)

(Minutes.)

See within tel. No. 1231 of Oct. 4th from

Hiph Commissioner, Peluluin, & C.O.

We can now reply by the Warhington

Fel. in E. 5702.

Aft. tel. 15 Warhington.

N. american Dept upon actions & K

(Action completed.)

(Index.)

Next Paper.

E5988

23238 12 41 F.O.P.

Reference:
FO 371/35039

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E 5955

bole 1 190

Downing Street, S.W.1.

// October, 1943.

Dear Baxter,

75998/1/43

Hankey wrote to me on the 27th September about Washington telegram No. 4250 (your reference E 5702/87/31) concerning the arms trial in Palestine.

As regards the suggestion in Rabbi Wise's aide memoire that U.S. correspondents at Cairo were invited to come to Jerusalem for the trial, we have telegraphed to the High Commissioner on this point, copy enclosed.

The position as we know it relating to the Agency's request for an enquiry is that Ben Gurion addressed a letter to the High Commissioner on behalf of the Executive on the 13th August, the text of which is contained in the enclosed Saving telegram from the High Commissioner, which the Foreign Office did not receive at the time. We do not propose, at least until we receive a full report from the High Commissioner on the results of the arms trials to consider further the request in Ben Gurion's communication.

You may also like to have a copy of the telegram which we have sent to the High Commissioner about the two Questions by Rear-Admiral Beamish for Answer in Parliament on the 12th and 13th October.

Yours sincerely,

Istold

C.W.BAXTER, ESQ., C.M.G., M.C.

OUTWARD TELEGRAM

This document must be paraphrased if the communication of its contents to any person outside Government Service is authorised. 75998/1/43

Cypher

TO PALESTINE (Sir H. MacMichael)

FROM S. OF S., COLONIES.

Sent 2nd October, 1943. 13

13.50 hrs.

x IMPORTANT No. 1132 Secret.

Addressed to Jerusalem.
Repeated to Minister of State, Cairo No. 74
Secret.

Your telegram No. 1198. E5-224.

Jewish arms cases.

1. His Majesty's Ambassador, Washington, has asked for comments on statement in communication received from Rabbi Wise that American Press correspondents in Cairo were specially invited to come to Jerusalem for the trial. Communication points out that there have been many trials in recent months for illegal possession of arms in which Arabs were implicated, but that only in the case of this particular trial was an effort made to focus attention on proceedings. In this connection please see paragraph 4 of your secret saving telegram No. 170 of the 14th August.

2. I assume that Press arrangements (if any) in connection with trials were made by the Military Court, but please telegraph your comments.

Copies sent to:-

War Office (M.I. 2a) War Cabinet Offices

- Major C.H. Dewhurst

- Mr. E.A. Almstrong.

* Distributed as Most Secret.

FO 371/35039

C.S. 457

To: Secretary of State. From: - High Commissioner for Palestine and Trans-Jordan.

Despatched: - 14.8.43. 1300 hours.

Addressed to Secretary of State No. 170 Secret Saving. Elegenda (ser lucare) d**iné local**ar d

Repeated to Minister of State Cairo No. 204 Secret Saving. . A. S. J. J. A. C. C. Time and C. C.

My secret telegram No. 979 of the 13th August -(repeated to Minister of State as No. 128).

Following is the full text of the communication from Ben Gurion referred to in paragraph of . What is ្ទាស់ដោះ ក្រឡុងនៅខែខាន់ ខេត្ត ប្រឹក្សាក្រឡូវទៀត សេនាស

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The Executive of the Jewish Agency has the honour to make the following submissions and would respectfully request that they may be transmitted to His Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies.

- Two British soldiers, Ptes. C.A. Stoner and C.R. Harris, were yesterday tried by a military tribunal in Jerusalem on charges of illegal possession of arms belonging to the British Army. This trial was utilised by the Defending Counsel, Major RvB. Verdin, to make a scurrilous attack upon Jews generally and in particular upon Jewish soldiers serving with British Forces in the Middle East and to defame the Jewish Agency, with a view to inciting Anglo-American public opinion against Jews and to prejudice our future in Palestine. through the second the areal before homeon
- 3. We were informed that this Officer during his address made the following allegations, intervalia. He described the two soldiers, who are reported to have an unsavoury record of forgery and theft, apart from being deserters and traffickers in their country's arms, as two poor boys who had never met Jews previously and had no knowledge of money. He then said they were ensuared by a vast organisation rich in money with its tentacles spreading out into the Army throughout the Middle East. This organisation, according to him, had representatives every-where, in every hotel and cafe, and had inexhaustible resources of money at its disposal. When an Army truck was needed to transport stolen arms it was supplied by Jewish troops. There

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was a secret organisation among the Jewish troops. organisation controlled military checkposts, which allowed the arms traffickers to pass freely throughout the country. The traffickers were helped out of their difficulties by Jewish soldiers. When a truck carrying stolen arms broke down it was towed by a truck containing Jewish soldiers.

The Officer stated that Jewish soldiers had done things which were worthy of praise, but these had been done when the enemy was near the borders of Palestine and the shadow of concentration camps like Dachau loomed large. They had, however, become interested in other affairs when danger receded from Palestine's borders and they had then begun to act in a manner prejudicial to the United Nations. This secret organisation, he declared, was a cancer in the Middle East war effort. He was convinced that the Jewish Agency was strongly connected with this organisation and alleged that this was proved by Mr. Ben Gurion's participation in this matter, in support of which he stated that one of the accused soldiers had, during police investigations, picked out Mr. Ben Gurion's photograph from eighteen photographs shown to them by the C.I.D., as a person seen by him in a Haifa cafe in the company of the chief of the arms trafficking gang. The Officer added that two prominent members of the Jewish community were directing these activities, which must have wide support as they had ample funds supplied to them by the vast organisation, which he connected with the Jewish Agency.

Major Werdin stated further that there were many indications to prove the connection between the Jewish Agency and the sforesaid vast organisation and that it was necessary to broadcast this fact to the Allied Nations who might find it necessary to revise their policy towards the Jews. Major Verdin concluded that the two accused soldiers should be made world famous because they helped to detect interesting facts about the attitude of the Jews towards the war effort, which might affect Government's policy. Major Verdin did not tender a single iota of evidence to support his slanderous allegations.

We understand that foreign newspaper correspondents were specially invited to come from Cairo to Jerusalem with a view to their attending this trial. The purpose of this invitation was apparently to ensure that full publicity would be given abroad to the statements, to be made at that trial. et belong war wound man on best to jee mande.

5. From the statements made by the Defending Officer it

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transpired that in the investigation of the case C.I.D. officials sought to implicate the Chairman of the Executive of the Jewish Agency by placing his photograph among a number of other photographs presented to the accused soldiers for identification. It was alleged that they had selected the photograph of the undersigned and the Defending Officer declared that this proved the Jewish Agency was connected with the vast organisation described above.

- 6. We respectfully submit that the very nature of the allegations can leave no room for doubt that this entire matter was nothing other than a crude conspiracy. We regret to state that in our view this forms part of a designed attempt by an anti-Semitic group in this country to slander the Jewish war effort, to defame the Jewish Agency and to bring Jewish soldiers serving with the British Forces in the Middle East into disrepute in the eyes of their British comrades and of the higher military authorities, by spreading malicious allegations concerning their loyalty. This is only the latest development in a widespread whispering campaign against the Jews and the Jewish Agency which has now been conducted in this country for a considerable time.
- 7. In view of the extreme gravity of this matter we have the honour to ask that H.M.G. may see fit to enquire into the matter and that appropriate measures may be taken to put an end to this regrettable and harmful state of affairs. We should be grateful if these submissions could be transmitted to the Secretary of State telegraphically: Ends.

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OUTWARD TELEGRAM

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Cypher (O.T.P.)

TO PALESTINE (Sir H. MacMichael)
FROM S. OF S., COLONIES.

Sent 2nd October, 1943. 13.15 hrs.

x IMPORTANT No. 1131 Secret.

Your telegram No. 1155.

Jewish Arms Case.

Admiral Beamish's question now deferred until 12th October, and further question for oral answer in Parliament on 13th October, as follows:

Rear-Admiral Beamish, - to ask the Prime Minister, if, in view of the partial and incomplete reports in the press, he will have a White Paper or statement issued in order that Parliament, the British public, and our Allies, may be made fully aware of the situation in Palestine as indicated by the recent trials and heavy sentences on two British soldiers for smuggling arms and the conviction and sentencing of others similarly concerned.

2. Can you confirm that trial of Zacherov is sufficiently closely connected with earlier trials to justify request for further postponing of questions as suggested in your telegram No. 1155. Unless it is, grounds for further postponement are considerably weakened.

3. In any case I shall be grateful if you will telegraph not later than 7th October full report and material for replies, together with your comments on the terms of replies. You will no doubt consult military authorities.

Copies sent to:War Office (M. I. 2a.)
War Office (Parliamentary - Mr. A. W. J. Drew.

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MOST SECRET CIPHER TELEGRAM

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Page 4.

INWARD TELEGRAM.

Cypher.

FROM PALESTINE (Sir H. Macmichael)

To S. OF S., COLONIES.

D. 4th October, 1943. R. 5th 09.55 hrs.

IMPORTANT. +No. 1231 Secret.

INDEXED

Addressed to S. of S. Repeated to Minister of State, Cairo No. 173.

Your telegram No. 1132.

Jewish Arms Case.

No invitation was given to any Press correspondent to attend the Usual arrangements for accomodating Press representatives in the Court were made by the Military authorities. Press have always been at liberty to attend Military Court trials, but previous cases have not been of a sensational nature. In particular, cases implicating Arabs, referred to in paragraph 2 of your telegram, have been concerned with trials of individuals for possession of single firearms and have excited hardly any public interest. In the case under discussion, it was clear from the outset that a large scale operation with big money behind it was involved, which put it into a different category and was likely to provide a "scoop".

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Copies sent to:-

War Office (M. I. 2a) Major C. H. Dewhurst. War Cabinet Offices Mr. E. A. Armstrong.

War Office Distribution by M.T. 2.a

S. of S. C. I. G. S. V. C. I. G. S. D. C. I. G. S. A. G. D. A. G. (A). D. M. O. D. D. M. O. (O). M. O. 1, 5. D. M. I. D. D. M. I. (I), (S).	M.I.2, 2a, 5, 17. D.C.I.G.S. (Co-ord). A.G.J. D.P.S. Brig. A.G. (Co-ord). Foreign Office (Mr. Cavendish Bentinck). D.N.I. (Admiralty). A.C.A.S.(I) (Air Min.) Col. Vickers (M.E.W.) Sec. J.I.C.(2) Colonial Office (LtCol. Rolleston). Foreign Office (Mr. Hanky).
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NOTHING

Registry
No. E 5955/87/31

H.M.E.

Draft.

H.M. Charge d'Affaires, Washington.

Telegram.

No. 6416

Cypher

Departmental No.1.

F.O.

October 1943.

Despatched M.

Your telegram No. 4250 /of 22nd September: Palestine arms trial7.

No invitation was given to any
Press correspondent to attend frial.
Press have always been at liberty to
attend military court trials, but previous
trial have not been of a sensational
nature. In particular, implicated Anabs
have been concerned with trials of
individuals for possession of single
firearms and have excited handly any
public interest. In present case it was
clear from the outset that a large-scale
operation with big money behind it was
involved which put it into a different
category.

ioner Ben Gurion requested that H.M.G.

would institute enquiry but it is not

proposed to take any action on this

request at least until a full report has

been received from the High Commissioner

on the results of the trials.

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E 5955/87/31

[CYPHER]

DEPARTMENTAL NO. 1.

FROM FOREIGN OFFICE TO WASHINGTON.

Ne. 6776. 8th October 1945.

D. 8.45 p.m. 8th October 1945.

Z-Z-Z-Z-Z

IMMEDIATE.

Your telegram No. 4250 [of 22nd September: Palestine arms trial].

No invitation was given to any Press correspondent to attend trial. Press have always been at liberty to attend military court trials, but previous cases have not been of a sensational nature. In particular, cases implicating Arabs have been concerned with trials of individuals for possession of single firearms and have excited hardly any public interest. In present case it was clear from the outset that a large-scale operation with big mency behind it was involved which put it into a different category.

2. In a letter to the High Commissioner Ben Gurien requested that His Majesty's Government would institute enquiry but it is not proposed to consider this request until a full report has been received from the High Commissioner on the results of the trials.

OTP

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PALESTINE & TRANGJONDAN. E 5988

156

Z OCT 1943

Proposed Anglo-United States Statement on the question of Palestine.

Refers to his letter of the 10th June, (E 3424/ Department of State understand that agreement was reached at Quebec to review from time to time the question of issuing a joint statement on Palestine. At the moment the State Department have no suggestions The Secretary of War observes that the British representations at Quebec have not caused him to alter his view that there is not sufficient basis from a military point of view for the initiation of any action respecting the situation in Palestine by the United States.

(Index.) (Action completed.)

Next Paper.

(Minutes.)

(I copy of the memorandum from by the I JJ. to Mr. Hall has been placed within In his aicumskumers, there evens nothing more to say, except to take who of the fact that the authorities in Weshington have considered the S. Js. wenounder and remaining the Jame opinion as before.

Oft reply to Mr. Winante Submitted

Myry It was decided at Quebec that in proposes Delanation should be prept in

Copy consymment & C.O.

the war Deft with at least not dotruct, and in leaves open the promitity of our convenience The State

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on political grounds.

Then of the W.D. an standing that some not fing to appear this

an not fing to appear this

on so once a month.

FO 371/35039

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E 538

London, October 2, 1943.

With reference to my letter of June 10th and the conversations we had regarding the issuance of a joint statement in regard to Palestine, the Department of State has asked me to inform you of its understanding that agreement was reached at Quebec to review from time to time the question of issuing a statement of this kind. At the moment the Department has no new suggestions to offer, although it is aware of the delicacy of the situation arising from the outcome of the arms trial in Palestine and the resolution on Palestine adopted by the recent American-Jewish Conference, etc.

The Department of State believes the Foreign Office will be interested in knowing that a copy of the British Memorandum dated August 21st on Palestine, which was handed to our officials at Quebec, was communicated to the Secretary of War who has replied expressing regret that you and the Minister for the Colonies are disappointed in the opinion previously expressed by him. The Secretary of War, however, observes that the British representations have not caused him to alter his view that there is not sufficient basis from a military point of view for the initiation of any action respecting the situation in Palestine by the United States. Although the War Department will not oppose action by the Department of State on the proposed declaration, the Secretary of War remains of the opinion that from his standpoint it is unwarranted.

John S. Wmanh

157

The Rt. Hon. Anthony Eden, M.C., M.P., Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Foreign Office, S.W.1. PALESTINE

It is not apparent why the United States Government should think that the situation in Pelestine is less inflammable. An American-Jewish congress is to be held at the end of this month which may well put forward the most uncompromising demands. Much publicity has recently been given to talks between the Prime Ministers of Iraq and Egypt on Arab federation which, though innocuous in thomselves, might lead to agitation in the Arab world about Palestine. A further incident which might set a match to the flames is the recent discovery of large-scale thefts of arms by Jews in Pelestine. Investigations have disclosed the existence of a highly-organized racket, and these investigations may well lead direct to the Jewish Agency. Courts-martial have been held on some British soldiers, who have been condemned to terms of penal servitude, and the trial is now proceeding of two Jews. The High Commissioner reports that if times Jews are convicted, a violent outbreak is possible. It is clear, therefore, that both in America and in the Middle East, the need for some sedative joint statement is as urgent as ever. statement would not of course be directed scholy against the Jews, but applies equally to agitation from Arab or any other quarter. It is not easy to understand the Zionists opposition to it, except on the assumption that they wish to bring the Palestine question to a head at a moment inconvenient to us from the point of view of the war. If a statement is to be issued, the sooner it appears the better.

QUEBEC 21st August, 1945.

371/35039

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159 Registry No. E 5988/87/31 October, 1943. H.M.E. In M. Eden's absence I am unity to Draft. United States thank you for your letter of the Ambassador. 2nd October about the joint statement which it was proposed to issue regarding Palestine. I note that, in accordance (From th with the understanding reached at Quebec, the question has been reviewed by the authorities in Washington and that the State Department have no new suggestions to offer, while the Secretary of War remains of the opinion that from his standpoint such a statement is unwarranted. "In the circumstances, there 5 for reconsideration in the light of any new NOTHING developments. S. la as as as concerned It awas trial has in itself folf. Che, as he Justicels, the Justin of A Judosed declaration.

က 50 **(7)** My doar ambassador,

E 5968/87/31

12th October 1945.

In Mr. Mden's obsence I om writing to thank you for your letter of the 2nd October about the joint statement which it was proposed to issue regarding Palestine. I note that, in accordance with the understanding reached at quebec, the question has been reviewed by the authorities in Washington and that the State Department have no new suggestions to offer, while the secretary of Wer remains of the opinion that from his standpoint such a statement is unwarranted.

In the circumstances, there is clearly no alternative but to beave the question for reconsideration in the light of any new developments. 30 fer as we are concerned the arms trial was in itself fulfilled, at least partially, the purpose of the proposed declaration.

> Believe me, My dear Ambassador,

> > (SD) MAURICE PETERSON.

Mis Excellency. The Honourable John G. Winant United States Embassy.

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PALESTINE & TRANSJORDAN.

8 OCT 1943

Registry $\left. \begin{array}{c} Registry \\ Number \end{array} \right\}$ E5989/87/31.

FROM <u>Colonial Office</u>
<u>communicated</u>.

No. Secret.

Dated 6th Oct., 1943.

Received | 8th Oct., in Registry | 1943.

E: Palestine and Transjordan.

Jewish Arms Cases.

Forwards copy of Palestine telegram No. 1238 dated 7th October, referring to Colonial Office telegram No. 1131 (E 5955/87/31), giving the particulars required for a reply to items in Admiral Beamish's original question, and stating that there have been three separate trials before military courts in Jerusalem involving the following persons: (a) 2 British deserters Stoner and Harris. (b) Two Jewish Civilians Sirkin and Rachlin. (c) A third Jewish civilian Sacherov, who is a subcontrator of Solel Boneh a contracting organisation affiliated to the General Federation of Jewish Labour and also acted as body guard to Tennenbaum.

Last Paper.

E5988

References.

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(Minutes.)

Phongh a stationant may not be convenient at the moment; I tope that when the time comes we shall let it he known what is behind this racket. At present all that is from to the world is the Juster allegation that the whole thing is an anti-semilie frame up. "De Times," for instance, menty furtishes Ben Gunion's stationant without.

M. Amenden Pekt.

Copy to washington of with copy of E 5999

(Action completed.)

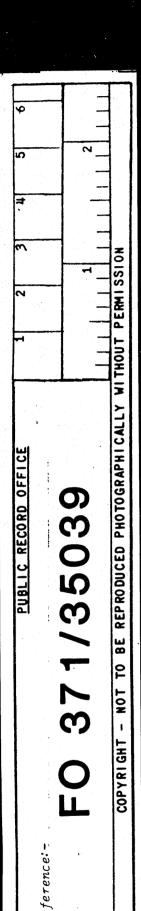
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(Index.)

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Cypher (O.T.P.)

FROM PALESTINE (Sir H. MacMichael)

TO S. OF S., COLONIES

D. 6th October, 1943. R. 7th 02.45 hrs

IMMEDIATE

* No. 1238 Secret

tehind.

Your telegrams Nos. 967 and 1131.

Jewish arms cases.

Following are particulars required for reply to items in Admiral Beamish's original question contained in your telegram No. 967.

- 2. There have been three separate trials before military courts in Jerusalem, involving the following persons:
 - (a) Two British deserters Stoner and Harris.
 (b) Two Jewish civilians Sirkin and Rachlin.

Former was Secretary of the Haifa Seamen's Union, an organisation affiliated to the General Federation of Jewish Labour. He was also used by the Jewish Agency for the purpose of liaison with the naval authorities at Haifa. Rachlin was the owner-driver of a taxi.

(c) A third Jewish civilian Sacherov, who is a subcontractor of Solel Boneh, a contracting organisation

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" (Parliamentary Section) - Mr. A.W.J. Drew

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affiliated to the General Federation of Jewish Labour, and also acted as bodyguard to Tennenbaum - vide paragraph 4 below.

charged under Emergency Regulation No. 8C(b) with the unlawful possession of 105,000 rounds of assumition and 300 rifles. Stoner and Harris pleaded guilty, and were each sentenced to fifteen years imprisonment. Sirkin and Rachlin, after trial lasting over six weeks, were found guilty and sentenced to ten and seven years imprisonment respectively. Sentences are subject to confirmation by the G.O.C. Counsel for Birkin stated in court that he intended to appeal to the Privy Council.

Trial (c) began on 5th October and is now proceeding. Sacherov is also charged under the Regulation cited shove, but the charge is related to a different consignment of arms and ammunition from those which were the subject of trials (s) and (b). He is, however, a member of the same body.

4. As regards the question of connections of the accused persons, Stoner and Harris stated that they were engaged for gun-running activities by a number of Jews, including Rachlin. Principal employers were Tennenbaum, alias Arazi, known to others as "the Boss", and Levy, principal agent of the arms ring and the contact between "the Boss" and British soldiers. Both Tennenbaum and Levy are wanted by the police. Soldiers were supplied by these Jews with false Army pay books, work tickets and other documents, and also with Army vehicles to enable them to make trips from Palestine to Egypt to procure consignments of arms and ammunition. As to the associates of the two Jews accused, I cannot do better than quote from the judgment of the President of the Military Court:-

"The organisation behind the activities of both of you men seems to have had considerable funds at its disposal, and to possess wide knowledge of military matters, including military organisation. No possible good can come out of the activities of such an organisation, whatever it is. Arms and ammunition obtained on the scale such as we have heard of in this case cannot have been obtained merely for the purpose of illicit commerce. Facts proved in this case point to the work of some extremist section in the community, who put

their/

371/35039

their own vain and selfish ends far above the common good of the community to which they belong. Every rightminded person must consider the conduct of you men and those associated with you in your nefarious activities as a menace to the community, as a grave and quite undeserved reflection on the good name of the section of the community to which you both belong".

- 5. The arms were stolen at the instance of Jews and delivered to Jews, the only possible inference is that they are intended for use by Jews. Moreover Tennenbaum was until fairly recently assistant to Zaslani, a member of the Jewish Agency Political Department.
- 6. Known cases of arms smuggling on this scale are not numerous, but arms trafficking in Palestine has unfortunately always been rife in both communities. Since the outbreak of war, fullest advantage has been taken by both communities of the opportunities offered, both by the presence of troops and dumps, and by military operations in neighbouring countries e.g. Syria and Egypt.
- 7. With reference to the further question mentioned in paragraph 1 of your telegram No. 1131 I should prefer that statement requested (if it be thought advisable to issue one) should not be made for the present. Statement would presumably go into such aspects of the arms racket as:
 Who is behind it? How widespread is it, etc.? There is a further case of large scale smuggling now under investigation (I request that this information be kept highly secret, as any mention of it would prejudice the investigation), and you will have seen my telegram No. 1235 about the discovery of ammunition at the Jewish settlement of Hulda.
- 8. I would suggest that the reply to Admiral Beamish be confined to the data given in paragraphs 2-4 above, with a negative reply to the question in paragraph 1 of your telegram No. 1131.

MOST SECRET CIPHER TELEGRAM

372871

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Page 1.

OUTWARD TELEGRAM.

75998/1/P. Q. 1/43

Cypher (0. T. P.)

TO PALESTINE (Sir H. MacMichael)

FROM S. of S. COLONIES.

Sent 27th August, 1943, 1730 hrs.

No. 967 Secret.

My telegram No. 907

Jewish arms case.

Following is text of question for oral answer in Parliament on 22nd September:-

"Rear-Admiral Beamish, - To ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies, if he will give particulars of recent trials in Palestine concerning smuggling of arms and the quantities of these, the names and connections of the convicted persons, for what section of the population the arms were intended, and if such smuggling is rife or is an isolated case".

2. I shall be grateful if you will furnish me with material for reply and your comments on the terms of the reply by airmail, or if it is unlikely that airmail would reach me in sufficient time, by telegram. You will no doubt consult the military authorities with regard to this question.

Copies sent to:-

War Office M.I. 2. Major C. H. Dewhurst. War Office Parliamentary Branch Mr. A.W.J. Drew.

War Office sub-distribution by M. I. 2.

S. of S.	M. I. 2, 2a, 5, 17.
C. I. G. S.	D.C.I.G.S. (Co-ord).
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A. G.	Brig. A.G. (Co-ord).
$D_{\bullet} A_{\bullet} G_{\bullet} (A)_{\omega}$	Foreign Office (Mr. Cavendish Bentinck).
D. M. O.	D. N. I. (Admiralty).
D. D. M. C. (O)	A.C.A.S.(I.) (Air Min).
M. O. 1, 5.	Col. Vickers (M.E.W.)
D. M. I.	Sec. J.I.C.(2).
D.D.M.I.(I), (S).	Colonial Office (LtCol. Rolleston)
	Foreign Office (Mr. Hanky).

5th Oct. 1943. DatedReceived 8th Oct. in Registry } 1943. Palestine and E: Transjordan. Last Paper. E5989. References. 371/35039 (Print.) 9) Leo arch in Low on ES Esta. 13 COE. (Index.) (Action completed.) Next Paper. E6009

1943

Registry 5999/87/31

Office(communicated)

Secret.

FROM Colonial

No.

8 oct mag

Discovery of ammunition at the Jewish settlement of Hulda.

Forwards copy of Palestine telegram No. 1235 dated the 5th October (Repeated Minister of State 175) reporting that on information supplied by Poles search for Polish deserter was carried out at Jewish settlement at Hulda on the 3rd October. No deserters were discovered but ammunition was found which was identified as British Military property. On discovery of ammunition settlers showed themselves hostile and endeavoured to obstruct police. There were adequate forces present however so that it was possible to prevent the crowd getting out of hand.

(Minutes.)

PALESTINE &

TRANSJORDAN.

De may expect some more from from Lu = 5989 My 9/10

23238 12 41 F.O.P.

INWARD TELEGRAM

Entre 166

This document must be paraphrased if the communication of its contents to any person outside Government Service is authorised.

13-

Cypher



E 5999

FROM PALESTINI (Sir H. MacHichael)

TO S. OF S., CCLENIES.

D. 5th October, 1943. R. 5th "

19.55 hrs.

IIIPORTANT No. 1235 Secret.

Addressed to the S. of S. Repeated to Minister of State No. 175.

On information supplied by Poles, search for Polish deserter was carried out at Jewish settlement of Hulda on 3rd October. Operation was carried out by the Police accompanied by Pole for identification purposes while troops picketed settlement. No deserters were discovered but 65 two inch mortar shells and 85 balistite cartridges were found in a barn and identified as British Military property. Mortar shells were dated 1943. Further investigations are being made into the origins of this ammunition.

2. On discovery of ammunition, settlers showed themselves hostile, and endeavoured to obstruct the Police. There were, however, adequate forces present, so that it was possible to prevent the crowd from getting out of hand. I shall report further developments.

Copy sent to:-

War Cabinet Offices - Mr. E.A. Armstrong.

PAUTOTINE & TRANSJORDAN. Jewish Arms Cases - Trial of Sacherov. Forwards copy of Palestine telegram No. 1239 dated Registry E 6009/87/31 7th August referring to Palestine telegram No. 1238 (E 5989/87/31) reporting that Sacherov was convicted FROMColonial Office of unlawful possession of two rounds of ammunition (communicated) and sentenced to seven years imprisonment. Sentence is subject to confirmation by General Officer No. Secret Commanding. Line taken by Jewish Press is to belittle the whole case. Further evidence during trial 7th Oct., Dated confirmed close connexion between prisoner and Received 8th Oct., Fennenbaum. in Registry \(\) 1943. E: Palestine and Transjordan (Minutes.) Last Paper. E5999. References. Lee within tel. fran C.in C., M. E., to No. No. 5321 J Y Det. 1943. 371/35039 (Print.) (How disposed of.) 9) ele artingta. 8 en ewillin 900 Paleolin 9 Fransjosolan let. ne 1/731 dalet 6/10/6 le le 0 No 1205 (Action (Index.) completed.) Next Paper.

23238 12 41 F.O.P.

E6027.

TO BE REPRODUCED PHOTOGRAPHICALLY 371/35039 COPYRIGHT INWARD TELEGRAM

191

Cypher (O.T.P.)

FROM PALESTINE (Sir H. MacHichael)

TO S. OF S., COLONIES.

D. 7th October, 1943. R. 7th 15.10 hrs.

X MOST IMMEDIATE No. 1239 Secret.

My telegram No. 1238. = 5-989 | 27 | 31.

Sacherov convicted of unlawful possession of two rounds of ammunition, and sentenced to seven years' imprisonment. Sentence is subject to confirmation by G.O.C.

- Line taken by Jewish Press is to belittle the whole case under the description "Two Rounds Case", implication being that there was nothing more to the offence than possession of two rounds of amounttion. Actual significance of the case was that one of these two rounds was of particular type viz:- American .30 tracer ammunition, inference being that it came from a consignment of 105,000 rounds of that type conveyed by Harris and Stoner from Egypt, and delivered to Tennenbaum and Levy in Haira. Further evidence during the trial confirmed close connection between prisoner and Tennenbaum.
- I regret information given in paragraph 3 of my telegram under reference that charge against Sacherov related to different consignment of ammunition was misleading.

X Distributed as Most Secret.

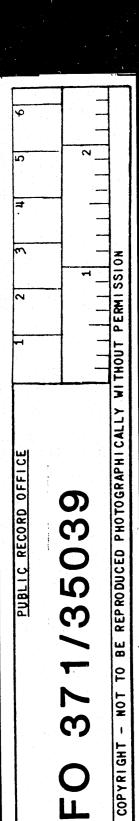
Copies sent to:-

War Office (M.I. 2a.) (Parliamentary Section)

- Captain Jones

- Im. A. W. J. Drow - Mr. C.W. Banter.

Foreign Office



MOST SECRET CIPHER TELEGRAM Puk

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1 1 OCT 1943

INDEXED

372806

From: C.-in-C. Middle East

The War Office.

Recd. 1254 7 Oct 143.

IMPORTANT.

5321 Cipher 7 Oct.

MOST SECRET

For D.M.I. from PICME.

Arms trial.

E5-824.

Further to my 5317 of 28 Sep. Trial Sacharov commenced ninth Oct. Found guilty sixth Oct sentenced seven years subject to confirmation by GOC. Only reaction reported so far is ridicule of trial in Jewish Press an interesting change from previous attitude of protest.

T.O.O. 1040 C.

C.6. Telegrams. To: M.I.2a. (for action).

Copies to: S of S. C.I.G.S. D.C.I.G.S.(Co-ord). V.C.I.G.S. D.C.I.G.S. Brig. A. G. (Co-ord). Foreign Office. (Mr. Cavendish-Bentinck). D. A. G. (A). Foreign Office. (Mr. Hanky).

D.M.O.

D.M.O.

D.N.I. (Admiralty).

A.C.A.S.(I)(Air Ministry).

Col. Vickers (M.E.W.).

D.M.I.

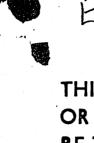
D.M.I.

D.M.I.

Sec. JIC.(2 copies).

D.D.M.I.(I).(S). Colonial Office.(Lt.Col.Rolleston).

M.I.2.2a.5.17.



SECRET CIPHER **TELEGRAM**

161558.

THIS MESSAGE WILL NOT BE DISTRIBUTED OUTSIDE BRITISH OR U.S. GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS OR HEADQUARTERS OR RE-TRANSMITTED EVEN IN CIPHER WITHOUT BEING PARAPHRASED.

From :- G.O.C.Palestine & Transjordan.

Recd. 0001. 7 Oct. 43.

The War Office.

IMMEDIATE.

I/731 cipher 6 Oct.

For Snuffbox.

MDEXED

Trial of Sacharov allegedly concerned with Rachlin and Sirkin in arms ring commenced 5/10. Today found guilty and sentenced 7 years subject confirmation by G.O.C.

Too. 1940.C.

C.6. (Telegrams.) To: M.I. 2. (for action).

Copies to: S. of S. Foreign Office C.I.G.S. Foreign Office C.I.G.S. (Mr. Cavendish Bentink) V.C.I.G.S. D.N.I. (Admiralty). A.C.A.S.(I) (Air Min) A.G. Col. Vickers (M.E.W). D.A. Sec. J.I.C.(2). Colonial Office D.M.O. D.D.M.O.(O). M.O. 1. 5. (Lt.Col.Rolleston). Foreign Office D.D.M.I.(I).(S) M.I. 2. 2a. 5. 17. D.C.I.G.S. (Co-ord). A.G. 3. D.P.S. Brig. A.G.(Co-ord). (Mr. Hanky).

/35039

E 6027 G E 6027/382/9.31 The Palestrie Se Hlement and The Question of a Greater Syria. Lord moyne (Comi) humo. by ford moyne. Dated: September Received: Last Paper. (Minutes.) 1) See within Sin M. Petersonis munite of 6 Oct. E5853 References. 2) Lee withing bel Mb. 556 from Sin F. Spenes de Wol 3) horbeyd Co. 15 hot Eyes of oit. 25 A N.Co. paper PM (43) 15 apparent (Print.) (How disposed, of.) Letter to hubrayd CO. Jews hur Basta 100.2 1000 (Index.) (Action completed.) Next Paper. E 6028 25527 F O.P. 6/43

Cullingues 172

Secretary of State.

The Palestine Settlement and the Question

of a Greater Syria.

Lord Moyne brought the attached paper in last night and I understand is to present it to you this afternoon.

I think we may welcome it in so far as it represents a proposal for setting up (at most) a"token" Jewish state in Palestine much on the lines of the atillborn Foreign Office paper which I believe you have with you.

The main question here is whether Lord Moyne should put in his Palestine Partition Scheme to the Cabinet Committee before Colonel Stanley is back in London. It might be better to wait since the mischief done by the circulation of the Amery Plan will already have been largely counteracted by the fact that an alternative plan will be known to have been prepared between Jerusalem and Cairo.

Lord Moyne's insistence on linking up Palestine and Greater Syria is a much more complicated matter and many of the complications are, I am inclined to think, unnecessary.

The deductions which he draws are that once the Jewish State, however small, has been carved out of Halestine the rest of Palestine plus Transjordan will not be worth making into a separate state and can only be merged with Syria. I am by no means sure of this and Ibn Saud for instance would greatly prefer to see a new Arab state made out of Transjordan and non-Jewish Palestine.

Lord Moyne's second point is that the French must be persuaded to allow the formation of a Greater Syria and that with this aim in view there ought to be no question of the French National Committee making a Treaty with Syria and the Lebanon which might complicate the formation of the Greater Syria.

I have told Lord Moyne that we are not wedded to the idea of a Franco-Syrian Treaty before the end of the war and that if the American view for which we are waiting is in any degree unfavourable we shall probably be prepared to dissuade the French from attempting such a treaty. But I have pointed out that, while we have insisted and will continue to insist with the French that their position in the Levant States as at present constituted must not be allowed to stand in the way of Arab federation, it would be quite another thing to ask the French first to merge Syria and the Lebanon in a Greater Syria, part of which will be under our control, and then to see Greater Syria itself merged in an Arab federation.

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As to Lord Moyne's suggestions for curtailing the territory of the present Lebanon, I cannot speak without greater knowledge than I possess.

Briefly therefore, I recommend that the line to take with Lord Moyne is to encourage his proposals for a partition of Palestine as representing the most which we could expect the Arab world to swallow but to discourage linking this up with the creation of a Greater Syria, which does not seem to me to have much point and over which we should risk antagonising both the French and Ibn Saud.

5th October 1943.

Ob. 5.143.

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

371/35039

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Minutes.

Eastern Department.

PALESTINE

Following on a discussion between the Secretary of State and Lord Moyne last night, at which it was agreed that the latter should see Sir George Gater at the Colonial Office, I saw Sir George Gater and Mr. Boyd myself to-day.

The Secretary of State's idea, which Lord Moyne endorsed, had been that an official sub-committee, under Lord Moyne's chairmanship, should be formed to discuss and prepare Lord Moyne's paper for submission to the Cabinet Committee. I found, however, that Sir G. Gater had persuaded Lord Moyne to drop this idea since the Colonial Office feel it impossible to accept it in Colonel Stanley's absence. Sir G. Gater claimed that the work of such a Committee of officials could only be to prepare a report which Colonel Stanley might well feel it was within his own province to prepare.

As a substitute Sir . Gater offers, and Lord Moyne accepts, an unofficial Departmental Committee of F.O. and C.O. in which Lord Moyne and Sir A. Rucker would join to work on Lord Moyne's paper in preparation for Colonel Stanley's return.

This seems satisfactory.

Sir G. Gater spoke to me of Lord Moyne's two fears in regard to (a) a Franco-Syrian Treaty, and (b) an Arab conference, either of which would in Lord Moyne's view complicate the position. It was agreed that there was no real need to take any further special action about the Franco-Syrian Treaty, which does not appear to be very imminent and on which we are still waiting for word from Washington. I also persuaded Sir G. Gater that it would be a great mistake for us to make any general communication to the Arab rulers cautioning them against an Arab Conference

Margin. ₽. Written þe Nothing

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on the ground of developments in London. But it was agreed that we should tell our own diplomatic representatives by a circular telegram that discussions about the Middle East as a whole were now developing in London and that it was undesirable that the position should be complicated meanwhile by the holding of an Arab conference. Our representatives are not to make any communication in this sense to the Arab Governments but should have the fact in mind and do their best to discourage. Only if there were imminent danger of a conference being convoked at an early date should they in their discretion give a direct intimation of our feelings on the subject.

We Shall him & mak this Squar with anothing in may have said oth October 1943.

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I submit a druft tal. on these lines.

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Reference:
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Nothing to be Written in this Margin.

Sh. Boyd has sent as this informed record of the meeting at the C.D. on let. 13th about Palentine. It seems all right, but I have queried two parmyes which his 7. Peterson might wish to work differently.

Myes.

There were to he a good many Points requiry consideration.

in M. Poursm (on utum) Martis

Them were one of an

I have passed their amenaments

The Boyd, copy of my
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My 2/11

Printed for the War Cabinet. November 1943.

The circulation of this paper has been strictly limited. It is issued for the personal use of ... MR.H.M.ETRES

MOST SECRET

P. (M) (43) 15.

1st November, 1943.

F6027 1014

Copy No.

28

WAR CABINET.

Committee on Palestine.

PALESTINE AND THE PROPOSED SYRIAN UNION.

MEMORANDUM BY THE DEPUTY MINISTER OF STATE RESIDENT IN THE MIDDLE EAST.

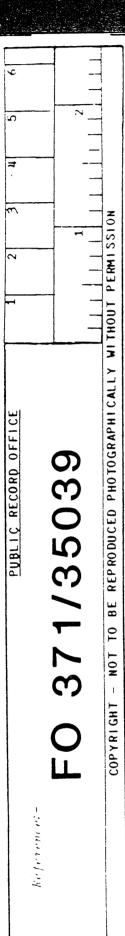
- 1. In the last six months I have had several opportunities of discussing with the High Commissioner for Palestine and members of his Executive Council and also with His Majesty's Minister to Syria and the Lebanon, various alternatives for the settlement of the Palestine problem on the basis of a bi-National State or Partition. I have also had several talks with Nuri Pasha and Syrian politicians as to their aspirations for a Greater Syria.
- 2. My discussions in the Middle East have revealed an almost unanimous opinion that the Palestine problem ought not to be considered in isolation but as part of a proper arrangement of the Levant States as a whole. This applies with special force to any scheme of Partition because:—
 - (a) The Palestine Arab residue would otherwise be too weak an economic unit to stand alone;
 - (b) Fusion with a stronger unit would give confidence to the Arab Palestinians against further encroachments by force or diplomacy:
 - (c) The Galilee area, if left out of the Jewish part of Palestine, would be an awkward island unless included in Syria.

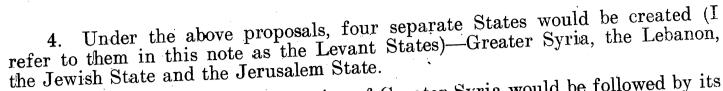
There is, moreover, a strong case on merits for the restoration of a Greater Syria. This would be a return to a political arrangement which lasted for many centuries and was disturbed only by the arbitrary creation of the Levant States after the last war.

3. Accordingly, I suggest that any scheme for the Partition of Palestine should be accompanied by proposals for the creation of a Greater Syria, by which I mean the fusion into a single State of the existing areas of Syria, Transjordan, the Arab part of Palestine and Arab areas in the Lebanon. I suggest the inclusion of parts of Lebanon in Greater Syria because I believe there would be advantage in reducing the present Lebanon more nearly to its former boundaries and so creating a predominantly Christian State. Discussions which I had in the Lebanon suggested that this would be acceptable to all parties concerned, but General Spears, while in favour of this solution, considers that it may provoke much opposition. In any case, the point is one for negotiation between Syria and the Lebanon. It would be necessary to make special arrangements for the Jerusalem area, including Bethlehem, which might be formed into a small International State.

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5. It is possible that the creation of Greater Syria would be followed by its federation (or even the federation of all the Levant States) with other Arab States -particularly Iraq. I am not concerned in this note with such a development, which is a matter for the Arab States themselves to work out. All that need be said here is that the idea of such a federation, with the creation of a Greater Syria a first step towards it, is much in the minds of Arab statesmen.

6. I turn now to the question of the actual area to be included in the Jewish State. Throughout our discussions on Partition I have found unanimous opinion among those responsible for Government and Defence that it would inevitably cause a much more serious Arab rebellion than that of 1936 to 1939 if any block of Arabs undiluted by any Jews were to be handed over to Jewish control. Although British military power could no doubt eventually overcome Arab armed resistance, to impose the domination of a Jewish minority over an Arab majority would cause such bitter resentment as would not be forgotten for generations and would ensure a political and economic boycott of the Jewish

State and its industries among its Arab neighbours. The scheme of the Secretary of State for India (P. (M) (43) 3), including as it would large undiluted blocks of Arabs in the Jewish State, would be open to this objection. It is however satisfactorily avoided by that of the Secretary of State for the Colonies (P. (M) (43) 14), which would give as much territory as possible

to the Jewish State without including in it purely Arab areas.

7. The powers and mutual relationship of the proposed Levant States present many problems. Briefly, as a result of my discussions, I believe that the most practicable scheme would be on the following lines:—

(a) The territorial integrity of each of the Levant States, i.e., Greater Syria, the Lebanon, the Jewish State and Jerusalem State would be guaranteed by Treaties which might be Anglo-French or, possibly, Anglo-French-American. The Treaties would also provide for the safeguarding of British and French strategic interests. For example, we should doubtless require extensive rights in the Port of Haifa for naval and commercial purposes, rights over aerodromes in the several' States for military use and rights to maintain troops. It would further be necessary to come to an agreement with the French as to the ultimate responsibility (which would have to be ours) for the defence of the States, both inter se and against external aggression, a matter in which, although they might be able to make a contribution to their own defence, the States would presumably require

(b) The Syrian and Lebanese States would decide their own form of Government. In the Jewish State it might be necessary to provide for communal voting with an allocation of a working majority of the seats in the Legislative Assembly to the Jewish Community.

(c) It would be desirable that the States should, if possible, agree to the joint administration of certain common services, which should include—

(i) Currency.

(ii) Customs.

(iii) Posts and Telegraphs.

(iv) Railways.

Control of these services would present difficulty. I do not think it would be possible to contemplate establishing for the purpose any form of Inter-State Legislative Assembly, as the Jews would inevitably regard this as a means of subjecting them to Arab domination. The common services might, however, be administered by Joint Boards operating under specific agreements for each service. Owing to the different economic interests of the Jews and Arabs there might be great difficulty in coming to an agreement about a Customs Board, but on the other hand, a Jewish Customs frontier would be extremely difficult to police, and might well be the equivalent of economic suicide for the Jews. I believe that in fact all the States other than the Jewish State would accept a Customs Union from the start. (The Lebanese

3

have already evinced their wish for a Customs Union with Syria), and the Jewish State might accede to the union after experiencing the inconvenience of standing out. Nevertheless, if no agreement could be reached on the joint administration of common services there would be no alternative to complete separation, each State being entirely independent.

(d) Whether or not arrangements can be made for the joint administrations of common services, I believe that some form of reference body to which difficulties could be referred for settlement would be needed. It is therefore suggested that an International Body should be set up by the United Nations for the purpose. This Council would have its headquarters at Jerusalem and would consist of British, French, and if they would co-operate, American representatives. There should in any case be a British Chairman and there should be either an Anglo-American or a British majority. The duties of the Council would be—

(i) Administration of the Jerusalem State.

(ii) Arbitration on any matters which the States may agree to refer.
(iii) Supervision of the observance of Treaty obligations on behalf of Guarantor Powers.

8. The last point—namely, the protection of the rights of minorities and especially the Arab minority in the Jewish State—is admittedly a difficult problem. The States would doubtless be prepared to give assurances of equitable treatment and it would be the concern of the Guarantor Powers to see that the assurances were fulfilled. The International Body would be in a position to bring to the notice of the Powers any unfair discriminations against minorities, but it might be unwise to place an overt duty on them to do this as this might encourage constant complaints on minor matters.

9. Under the above proposals, immigration would be a matter for State control and the Jews would then be free to permit immigration, on whatever scale they desired, to the Jewish State but not elsewhere.

10. What prospect is there of such a scheme as is described above being accepted by the Arabs—the Jews—and the French? The proposals made by Nuri have already been circulated (P. (M) (43) 11). It will be seen that the scheme I have suggested goes considerably beyond anything which Nuri has in mind. In particular he contemplates that the Jewish enclave would be more in the nature of an autonomous local government area or canton than of an independent State. Moreover, he has never shown any willingness to agree that the Jews should control immigration into the Jewish area. On the other hand, there is reason to believe that Nahas would not necessarily object to the creation of a Jewish State subject to adequate safeguards. This is confirmed by the following extract from Jerusalem Telegram No. 251 Saving to the Colonial Office:—

"Mustapha Pasha Nahas and Tewfiq Pasha agreed that little progress could be made until Syria was re-united, and this entailed getting rid of the French and solving the problems presented by the Jewish and Maronite minorities. They felt that if the Jews and Maronites refused to form part of a Greater Syria, they could be given autonomy or independence in the areas of Palestine in which the Jews predominate, and within the boundaries of the Lebanon as they stood in 1918. It was unthinkable that either of these minorities should be given control of territory in which other communities constituted the majorities."

All that I can say as a result of my discussions is that I believe there is possibility of carrying through these proposals without incurring violent reactions from Arabs in general, though this would not necessarily be true of Palestinian Arabs or, still less of Arabs living in the area to be given to the Jews. Moreover this would depend on:—

(a) The creation of a Greater Syria being made possible and genuine independence given to it;

(b) The boundaries of the Jewish State not exceeding those proposed in the Colonial Secretary's Memorandum, so that large blocks of Arab territory are not put under Jewish control.

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I do not mean to imply that the suggested scheme could be enforced without any trouble. There would certainly be a risk of local disturbances, e.g., in Jaffa, but I think that if the scheme does not go further than is proposed, and it is made clear that it is a final solution of the Palestine problem, it might be put into operation without major disturbances and without bringing the Arab States outside Palestine into conflict with us.

- 11. Although I believe that what is proposed is the very most that can be offered without the certainty of an Arab revolt, I do not think that it would be acceptable to the Jews. If they refuse to accept it there would seem to be only two alternatives to offer them:—
 - (a) Continuance of British rule in Palestine (which would not necessarily be incompatible with the creation of a Greater Syria outside Palestine) under a form of Government which would be but little distinguishable from the White Paper; or

(b) British administration of the Jewish State in order to ensure the continuance of the Jewish Home until such time as the Jews themselves are willing to take over.

12. There remain the French. Doubtless the scheme would be unpalatable to many Frenchmen who desire to retain Syria and the Lebanon as an integral part of the French Empire, but it is clear that the Syrians and the Lebanese too (vide the Lebanese Prime Minister's speech to the Lebanese Parliament on the 7th October) are strongly opposed to this and there is evidence that the French recognise that their hold on Syria is weakening. Moreover, it is doubtful how far post-war France will desire or be able to maintain the old French Imperial policy, and there are certainly some more far-sighted Frenchmen who are thinking in terms of Syrian Union. In asking the French to accept the proposed scheme we should have many strong arguments to use. We should be asking them to recognise, in the spirit of the Atlantic Charter, the independence of an area which all through history has been united. We should be asking them to do no more than we ourselves are prepared to do since we should be recognising the independence of Transjordan and the Arab part of Palestine, just as they would be recognising, indeed, have recognised, the independence of Syria. Finally, we should be offering them a seat on the International Body and giving them every opportunity to preserve their legitimate, strategic and other interests in the Levant. It is true that we should have to ask their agreement to our assuming the primary responsibility for the defence of the whole area, and that they would no doubt see in this an end to any hopes which anti-British Frenchmen may entertain of countering the interests of the British Empire in the Middle East. Nevertheless, the case which we should put to them is surely one which it would be difficult to refuse. In this connexion, although, as General Spears has pointed out, contradictary statements could be quoted, I may cite the following extract from General Catroux's Proclamation on the occupation of Syria :—

"Vous serez donc, désormais, des peuples souverains et indépendants et vous pourrez, soit vous constituer en États distincts, soit vous rassembler en un seul État."

13. The scheme described in this note and the Colonial Secretary's paper has been framed in consultation with Sir H. MacMichael and Sir L. Spears and is endorsed by the Minister of State Resident in the Middle East. It obviously bristles with difficulties, but difficulties no less great would apply to any scheme for a bi-National State. On the other hand, it has a better hope of securing finality than the White Paper proposals. In any case, I believe the scheme ought to be considered as the only alternative to the White Paper which might be attainable without once again plunging Palestine, and, indeed, the whole Arab world, into disorder and bloodshed.

FO 371/35039

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SUMMARY OF PROPOSALS.

14. The proposals I make in this paper may, for convenience, be summarised as follows:—

(1) A new solution for the Palestine problem may be found in a rearrangement of all the Levant States—Palestine, Transjordan, Syria and

Lebanon. (Paragraphs 1 and 2.)

(2) The solution proposed is the partition of Palestine so as to form a Jewish State and the creation of a Greater Syria consisting of the Arab parts of Palestine and Lebanon and the existing areas of Syria and Transjordan. Four separate States would thus be set up—Greater Syria, Lebanon, a Jewish State, and a Jerusalem State (under international control). There is a strong case on merits for the restoration of the old Greater Syria, which was only broken up after the last war. Further, a Greater Syria, by absorbing the uneconomic Arab part of Palestine and the Galilee area and by giving strength and confidence to the Arab Palestinians, is essential to any satisfactory partition of Palestine. (Paragraphs 3 and 4.)

(3) The four States would be guaranteed by Treaties which might be Anglo-French or Anglo-French-American. The Treaties would also safeguard British and French strategic interests. (Paragraph 7 (a).)

(4) Syria and Lebanon would decide their own form of Government. In the Jewish State it might be necessary to provide for communal voting to ensure a working majority in the Legislative Assembly to the Jews. (Paragraph 7 (b).)

(5) The States should have a joint administration for common services including currency, customs, posts and telegraphs, and railways. The Jews would never agree to an Inter-State Legislature as this might subject them to Arab domination. The common services should be administered by Joint Boards. Owing to different economic interests there might be difficulty over a Joint Customs Board, and the Jews, at any rate to begin with, might insist on separate customs administration. (Paragraph 7 (c).)

(6) An international body with a British Chairman and consisting of British, French and American representatives should be set up to administer the Jerusalem State, arbitrate on differences between the States which are referred to them, and supervise the observance of Treaty obligations on behalf of Guarantor Powers. (Paragraphs 7 (d) and 8.)

(7) Immigration would be a matter for State Control, and the Jews would have sole responsibility for immigration into the Jewish State.

(Paragraph 9.)

(8) Although these proposals would not be welcomed by the Arabs it is thought that they could be introduced without provoking violent reactions. It is also unlikely that they would be welcome to the Jews. There are, however, only two alternatives to offer them, either a continuance of the White Paper or British administration of a Jewish State established in accordance with the above proposals. The attitude of the French cannot be accurately assessed, but there are grounds for thinking that their acceptance might be won. (Paragraphs 10–12.)

(Initialled) M.

Offices of the War Cabinet, Great George Street, S.W. 1, 1st November, 1943.

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MOST SECRET

PALESTINE AND THE PROPOSED SYRIAN UNION Memorandum by the Deputy Minister of State.

In the last six months I have had several opportunities of discussing with the High Commissioner for Palestine and members of his Executive Council and also with H.M. Minister to Syria and the Lebanon various alternatives for the settlement of the Palestine Problem on the basis of bi-National State or Partition. I have also had several talks with Nuri Pasha and Syrian politicians as to their aspirations for a Greater Syria.

The possibility of Partition is receiving increased attention both in London and in the Middle East. I am not concerned in this note with the broad political question whether it is wise, or in accordance with the true interests of the Jews themselves, to create a Jewish State and Nation. All I seek to do is to analyse in the light of the discussions I have had what, if any, form of Partition would be administratively practicable and attainable without creating major disturbances in the Arab world.

My discussions have revealed an almost unanimous opinion that the Palestine problem ought not to be considered in isolation but as part of a proper arrangement of the Levant States as a whole. This applies with special force to any scheme of Partition because:

- (a) The Palestine Arab residue would otherwise be too weak an economic unit to stand alone;
- (b) Fusion with a stronger unit would give confidence to the Arab Palestinians against further encroachments by force or diplomacy;
- (c) The Galilee area, if left out of the Jewish part of Palestine, would be an awkward island unless included in Syria.

There is moreover a strong case on merits for the restoration of a Greater Syria. This would be a return to a political arrangement which lasted for many centuries are was disturbed only by the arbitrary creation of the Levello States after the last war.

Accordingly I suggest that any scheme for the Partition of Palestine should be accompanied by proposals for the creation of a Greater Syria, by which I mean the fusion into a single State of the existing areas of Syria, Transjordan, the Arab part of Palestine and Arab areas in the Lebanon. I suggest the inclusion of parts of Lebanon in Greater Syria because I believe there would be advantage in reducing the present Lebanon more nearly to its former boundaries and so creating a predominantly Christian State.

/I believe ...

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I believe from discussions I had in Lebanon that this would be acceptable to all parties concerned. It would be necessary to make special arrangements for the Jerusalem area, including Bethlehem, which might be formed into a small International State.

Under the above proposals four separate States would be created (I refer to them in this note as the Levant States) - Greater Syria, the Lebanon, the Jewish State and the Jerusalem State. It is possible that there would be difficulty in the immediate formation of a single Greater Syria and that it would be necessary, as a first step towards ultimate fusion, to form an enlarged Syria, consisting of the present Syria, Galilee and part of Lebanon, and an enlarged Transjordan, consisting of the present Transjordan and the Arab part of Palestine. think, however, that this two-stage approach could, and should, be avoided and I am assuming for the purposes of this note that Greater Syria would be created at the outset.

It is possible that the creation of Greater Syria would be followed by its federation (or even the federation of all the Levant States) with other Arab States - particularly Iraq. I am not concerned in this note with such a development which is a matter for the Arab States themselves to work out. All that need be said here is that the idea of such a federation with the creation of a Greater Syria a first step towards it, is much in the minds of Arab statesmen.

I turn now to the question of the actual area to be included in the Jewish State. Throughout our discussions on Partition I have found unanimous opinion among those responsible for Government and Defence that it would inevitably cause a much more serious Arab rebellion than the divided of that of 1936 to 1939 if any solld block of Arabs were to be handed over to Jewish control. Although British military power could no doubt eventually overcome Arab armed resistance, to impose the domination of a Jewish minority over an Arab majority would cause such bitter resentment as would not be forgotten for generations and would ensure a political and economic boycott of the Jewish State and its industries among its Arab neighbours. I am convinced therefore that it would be impossible to include within a Jewish State either, as was proposed by the Peel Commission, the solid block of 66,000/Arabs in Galilee or, as has been more recently suggested; the 100,000 Arabs in the Gaza sub-district and the 80,000 Arabs in the inhabited portion (barley lands) of the Beersheba sub-district. In the Beersheba sub-district the farms average only 25 acres and owing to the lack of rainfall produce on the average half a crop a year. quently Jewish settlement could only take place by forcibly removing many Arab occupiers who owing to an insufficiency of land are already living on a standard of bare subsistence.

> A scheme of Partition has been worked out which would give as much territory as possible to the Jewish State without including in it large purely Arab areas. Briefly the scheme would give to the Jews the Vale of Sharon, the Plain of Esdraelon and the Hula Valley. As indicated

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above the Jerusalem area including Bethlehem would become an International State and Galilee and the rest of Arab-Palestine would be included in Greater Syria. The Jewish State would have a total population of 390,000 Jews as against 362,000 Arabs and all but about 5000 of the Jews now in Palestine would be within either the Jewish State or the Jerusalem Reserve.

9. The powers and mutual relationship of the proposed Levant States present many problems. Briefly, as a result of my discussions, I believe that the most practicable scheme would be on the following lines:-

- The territorial integrity of each of the Levant States, i.e. Greater Syria, the Lebanon, the Jewish State and Jerusalem State would be guaranteed by Treaty. Thus Greater Syria might be given a joint Anglo-French (? -American) guarantee and either; the other States might be treated similarly or the Lebanon might be protected by a Treaty with the French and the Jewish State by a British (? -American) Treaty. The Treaties would also provide for the safe-guarding of British and French strategic interests. For example, we should doubtless require extensive rights in the Port of Haifa for Naval and commercial purposes, rights over aerodromes in the several States for military use and rights to maintain troops. would further be necessary to come to an agreement with the French as to the ultimate responsibility (which would have to be ours) for the defence of the States, both inter se and against external aggression, a matter in which, although they might be able to make a contribution to their own defence, the States would presumably require assistance,
- (b) The Syrian and Lebanese States would decide their own form of Government. In the Jewish State it might be necessary to provide for communal voting with an allocation of a working majority of the seats in the Legislative Assembly to the Jewish Community.
- (c) It would be desirable that the States should, if possible, agree to the joint administration of certain common services, which should include :-
 - (i) Currency
 - (ii) Customs
 - (iii) Posts and Telegraphs
 - (iv) Railways

Control of these services would present difficulty. I do not think it would be possible to contemplate establishing for the purpose any form of Inter-State Legislative Assembly as the Jews would inevitably regard this as a means of subjecting them to Arab domination. The common services might, however, be administered by Joint Boards operating under specific agreements for each service.

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Owing to the different economic interests of the Jews and Arabs there might be great difficulty in coming to an agreement on a Customs Boardy but to give the Jewish State its own Customs frontier would be extremely difficult to police, and, one would think, economic suicide for the Jews. I believe that in fact all the States other than the Jewish State would accept a Customs union from the start and the Jewish State might accede to the union after experiencing the inconvenience of standing out. Nevertheless if no agreement could be reached on the joint administration of common services there would be no alternative to complete separation, each State being entirely independent.

- (d) Whether or not arrangements can be made for the joint administrations of common services, I believe that some form of reference body to which difficulties could be referred for settlement would be needed. It is therefore suggested that an International Body should be set up by the United Nations for the purpose. This Council would have its headquarters at Jerusalem and would consist of British, French, and if they will co-operate, American representatives. There should in any case be a British Chairman and there should be either an Anglo-American or a British majority. The duties of the Council would be:-
 - (i) Administration of the Jerusalem State.
 (ii) Arbitration on any matters which the States may agree to refer.
 - (1ii) Supervision of the observance of Treaty obligations on behalf of Guarantee Powers.
- 10. The last point namely the protection of the rights of minorities and especially the Arab minority in the Jewish State is admittedly a difficult problem. The States could, no doubt, be induced to give guarantees of equitable treatment. The Treaties with the States might accordingly contain clauses for the protection of minorities with such sanctions as can be devised, and the International Body would be given a watching brief with the duty of bringing to the notice of the United Nations or making public any unfair discrimination against minorities.

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- 11. Under the above proposals, immigration would be a matter for State control and the Jews would then be free to permit immigration, on whatever scale they desired to the Jewish State but not elsewhere.
- 12. Nothing has been said so far about the Negeb. All the evidence that I have been able to obtain points over whelmingly to the conclusion that there is in the Negeb insufficient rainfall water and soil and that any hope of its development is an idle dream. Nevertheless it is desirable that the question should be authoritatively settled and the best course might be to invite the International Body to have an expert auxyey made and determine whether development is possible and if so what population the Negeb could carry. If the

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answer is encouraging there is no reason why the Negeb should not be given to the Jews though it would necessarily be separated from the Jewish State proper by the intervening Beersheba region.

What prospect is there of such a scheme asias described above being accepted by the Arabs - the Jews and the French? I give in the Appendix to this note a short account of the proposals which Nuri has made in the Memorandum which he submitted to the Minister of State and in my discussions with him. It will be seen that the scheme I have suggested goes considerably beyond anything which Nuri has in mind. In particular he contemplates that the Jewish enclave would be more in the nature of an autonomous local government area or canton than of an independent State. Moreover he has never shown any willingness to agree that the Jews should control immigration into the Jewish area. On the other hand there is reason to believe that Nahas would not necessarily object to the creation of a Jewish State subject to adequate safeguards. This has since been confirmed by Jerusalem Telegram No.251 Saving to the Colonial Office, an extract from which is contained in the Appendix. All that I can say as a result. of my discussions, is, that I believe there is possibility of carrying through these proposals without incurring violent reactions from Arabs in general though this would not necessarily be true of Palestinian Arabs or, still less, of Arabs living in the area to be given to the Jews. Moreover this would depend on :-

- (a) The creation of a Greater Syria being made possible and genuine independence given to it:
- (b) The boundaries of the Jewish State . not exceeding those which I have proposed so that large blocks of Arab territory are not but under Jewish control.

I do not mean to imply that the suggested scheme could be enforced without any trouble. There would certainly be a risk of local disturbances e.g. in Jaffa, but I think that if the scheme does not go further than is proposed, and it is made clear that it is a final solution of the Palestine problem, it might be put into operation without major disturbances and without bringing the Arab States outside Palestine into conflict with us.

- 14. Although I believe that what is proposed is the very most that can be offered without the certainty of an Arab revolt, I do not think that it would be acceptable to the Jews. If they refuse to accept it there would seem to be only two alternatives to offer them:-
 - (a) Continuance of British rule in Palestine (which would not necessarily be incompatible with the creation of a Greater Syria outside Palestine) under a form of Government which would be but little distinguishable from the White Paper; or
 - (b) British administration of the Jewish State in order to ensure the continuance of the Jewish Home until such time as the Jews themselves are willing to take over.

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Doubtless the scheme There remain the French. 15. would be unpalatable to many Frenchmen who desire to retain Syria and the Lebanon as an integral part of the French Empire, but it is clear that the Syrians at least are strongly opposed to this and there is evidence that the French recognise that their hold on Syria is weakening, Moreover, it is doubtful how far post-war France will desire or be able to maintain the old French Imperial policy, and there are certainly some more far-sighted Frenchmen who are thinking in terms of Syrian Union. In asking the French to accept the proposed scheme we should have many strong arguments to use. We should be asking them to recognise, in the spirit of the Atlantic Charter, the independence of an area which all through history has been united. We should be asking them to do no more than we ourselves are prepared to do since we should be recognising the independence of Transjordan and the Arab part of Palestine, just as they would be recognising, indeed have recognised, the independence of Syria. should be leaving to them a close interest in, and connection with, the Lebanon, an area which is much more French in culture than the rest of the Levant. Finally we should be offering them a seat on the International Body and giving them every opportunity to preserve their legitimate interests, strategic, transport and commercial in Syria. It is true that we should have to ask their agreement to our assuming the primary responsibility for the defence of the whole area, and that they would no doubt see in this an end to any hopes which anti-British Frenchmen may entertain of countering the interests of the British Empire in the Middle East. Nevertheless, the case which we should put to them is surely one which it would be difficult for them to refuse. (See extract given in the Appendix from General Catroux's Proclamation on the occupation of Syria).

with difficulties but, difficulties no less great would apply to any scheme for a bi-National State. Whether in the long run it would prove to have been as statesmanlike as a much closer adherence to the principles of the White Paper, Is a matter of opinion. It would in all probability be accepted willingly by none of the parties concerned, (the White Paper is at least acceptable to the Arabs) and would have to be imposed. On the other hand it has a better hope of securing finality than the White Paper proposals. In any case, I have thought it right to put the scheme forward as the only alternative to the White Paper which might be attainable without once again plunging Palestine, and indeed, the whole Arab world, into disorder and bloodshed.

17. The scheme has been framed in consultation with Sir H. MacMichael and Sir L. Spears and is endorsed by the Minister of State.

(Intld) M.

Chiro September, 1943.

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APPENDIX

Nuri Pasha's Proposals

Nuri Pasha bases his proposals on the fact that whether under the Arab, Turkish or Egyptian caliphates, Syria has been part of a single unit until it was divided by Britain and France after the last war, in spite of the strong protests of all Arab leaders. His "Blue Book" cīrculated early this year marks, however, an important change in the Arab attitude towards a partitioned Palestine. His conclusions are that "... the only fair solution and indeed the only hope of securing permanent peace, contentment and progress in these Arab areas is for the United Nations to declare now :-

- (a) That Syria, Lebanon, Palestine and Transjordan shall be reunited into one State.
- (b) That the form of Government of this State, whether monarchial or republican, whether unitary or federal, shall be decided by the peoples of this State themselves.
- (c) That there shall be created an Arab League to which Iraq and Syria will adhere at once and which can be joined by the other Arab States at will.
- (d) That this Arab League shall have a permanent Council nominated by the member States and presided over by one of the rulers of the States who shall be chosen in a manner acceptable to the States concerned.
- (e) The Arab League Council shall be responsible for the following :-
 - (i) Defence
 - (ii) Foreign Affairs
 - (iii) Currency
 - (iv) Communications
 - Customs (v)
 - Protection of Minority rights. (vi)
- (f) The Jews in Palestine shall be given semi-autonomy. They shall have the right to their own rural and urban district administration including schools, health institutes and police, subject to general supervision by the Syrian State.
- Jerusalem shall be a city to which members of all religions shall have free access for pilgrimage and worship. A special commission composed of representatives of the three theocratic religions shall be set up to ensure this.

Note:

Nuri subsequently came to the conclusion that Customs should be a State and not a League Service.

/(h)...

- (h) That if they demand it, the Maronites in the Lebanon shall be granted a privileged regime such as they possessed during the last years of the Ottoman Empire. This special regime like those to be set up in paragraphs 6 and 7 above shall rest on an Internation/Guarantee.
- In the matter of Foreign Affairs Nuri suggests the same concurrent powers as are possessed by the Dominions within the British Empire so that treaties and diplomatic relations could be left to the Arab League and could also be exercised independently by the two above mentioned partners. We need not, however, be greatly concerned at this stage with the proposals / (c), (d) and (e) above / for the formation of an over-all Arab League. The League, if formed, would include the Syrian Union.
- Nuri sums up his scheme as follows:

"If all Palestine were included in one Syrian State the boundaries of the Jewish enclave would be administrative boundaries only. The Jewish areas might consist of a number of qadhas or even nahiyas in which the Jews would enjoy special rights; alternatively, by arrangement with all parties, a definite consolidated area could be assigned to the Jews for semi-autonomous administration and Arabs settled within it would have to accept to live under the special regime or be found land elsewhere".

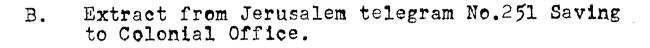
- 4. It should be added that :-
 - (a) Nuri has said he is most anxious to ensure fair treatment to minorities;
 - (b) At his last talk with Lord Moyne Nuri was not prepared to concede control of immigration to the Jewish State, on the ground that this would involve the reimposition of frontier posts. This reason seems unconvincing as the overflow of Jews into neighbouring territories could be prevented by prohibiting purchase of land or leases, also of residence outside the Jewish State except so far as may be authorised under special permits for short visits, etc.

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Mustapha Pasha Nahas and Tewfiq Pasha agreed that little progress could be made until Syria was re-united and this entailed getting rid of the French and solving the problems presented by the Jewish and Maronite minorities. They felt that if the Jews and Maronites refused to form part of a Greater Syria they could be given autonomy or independence in the areas of Palestine in which the Jews predominate and within the boundaries of the Lebanon as they stood in 1918. It was unthinkable that either of these minorities should be given control of territory in which other communities constituted the majorities.

C. Extract from the Proclamation of General Catroux made in the name of General de Gaulle Chief of the Free French on the occupation of Syria.

Vous serez donc, desormais, des peuples souverains et indépendants et vous pourrez, soit vous constituer en Etats distincts, soit vous rassembler en un seul Etat.

SECRET.

DISTRIBUTION JEWISH POPULATION UNDER SCHEME C.

	URBAN	RURAL	TOTAL
JEWISH STATE	<i>3</i> 06,580	83, 890	390,470
JERUSALEM STATE	87,400	1,240	38 ,640
SYRLA	50	2,160	2,210
TRANS-JORDAN		3,095	3, 095
TOTAL:	394,030	90,3 85	484,415

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STATISTICS OF SCHEMES OF PARTITION

		All Palestine	Roval Commission	Company C	J. Carry Long
*	POPULATION.		•	:	(Cabinet Catte)
URBAN POPULATION:	Araba Jews	390,170 394,030	91,200	154,440	209,430
	Total	784,200	370,980	461,020	515,540
RURAL POPULATION:	Arabs Jews	726,990	248,290	207,640	302,580
	Total	817,375	326,310	291,530	383,070
TOTAL POPULATION:	Arabs Jews	091,711,1 614,484	339,490 357,800	362,080 390,470	512,010 386,600
	Total	1,601,575	697,290	752,550	898,610
	LAND	Dumms (c)	Durams (c)	Duntants (c)	Dunting (c)
CHIRUS:	Arabs Jews		85,919 134,092	100,197	137,115
	Total.	28 6,7 66	120,022	238,244	255,677
FLANTATIONS:	Arabs Jews	1,0 83,33 0 96,896	253,555 80,491	167,785 84,750	227,230 83,713
	Total	1,180,226	334,046	252,535	310,943
CEREAL LAND:	Arabs Jews	6,398,986 864,872	1,781,012 687,581	1,427,066 722,167	3,670,772
TOTAL CULTIVABLE LAND:	Total	7,627,894	2,468,593	2,149,233	4,433,283
	Jews Total	1,102,956	902,164 3,022,650	944,964	983,339
UNCULTIVABLE LAND:	Arabs	7,363,788	1,420,806	757,413	2,286,356
	Total	7,774,740	1,763,455	13,994	2,629,254
	-				

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		All Palestine	Royal Commission	Scheme C. (Lord Moyne's memo.)	Scheme A. (Cabinet Omtte.)	
	LWD. (cont.)					
TOTAL CULTIVABLE AND UNCULTIVABLE LAND:	Arabs Jews	14,991,682	3,541,292 1,244,813	2,452,461	6,302,930	٠
ROADS, RIVERS ETC:	Total.	16,505,590 135,668	4,786,105 75,668	3,754,006 82,172	7,629,157 99,427	
	Grand Total	16,641,258(a)	4,861,773	3,836,178(b)	7,728,584 (a)	
	TAXATION.	£P.	* <u>7</u> 23	E.	-EE	
URBAN PROPERTY TAX:	Arabs Jews	193,471 364,432	73,239 288,410	106,18 <i>5</i> 308,462	113,980 308,460	
	Total	557,903	361,649	474,645	422,440	
RURAL PROPERTY LAX:	Arabs Jews	159,337 83,426	65,137 74,888	68,248 78,951	94,520 77,962	
	Total	242,763	140,025	147,199	172,482	
MOTAL PROPERTY TAXATION:	ION: Arabs Jews	352,808	138,376 363,298	174,431 387,413	208,500 386,422	
	Total:	999,008	501,674	561,844	594,922	

(a) Plus about 9,677,000 dumms of desert waste east and south of whe inhabited partion of the Nageb. (b) As at (a), should expert examination show that the development of this was a is practicable. (c) 4 dumms = 1 acre.

[CYPHER]

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FROM BEIRUT TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Sir E. Spears
No. 556.
2nd October, 1943.

D. 8.40 a.m. 3rd October, 1943. R. 2.25 p.m. 3rd October, 1943.

Repeated to Minister of State, Cairo Saving.

Ebour !

Following for Lord Moyne.

Personal and Most Secret.

Reference last paragraph of memorandum enclosed in your letter of September 25th, I feel bound to point out that this memorandum as now revised contains several new features on which I was not consulted and to which I would not have agreed.

- 2. Paragraph 5 second sentence: I consider most dangerous even to suggest this possibility. Its effect would be to increase the area under foreign influence. Even as a temporary expedient this would be undesirable and we might never get beyond that stage.
- 3. Paragraph 9 (a) second sentence: alternative arrangement suggested for Lebanon would in my view vitiate whole scheme, fundamental purpose of which was to include all areas concerned in one Federation on equal terms. Arabs would I feel surely never accept such an arrangement which they would regard as creating a political excrescence.
- 4. As regards penultimate sentence of paragraph 4 I maintain the view already expressed despite Dodge's contrary opinion, and I consider it wiser to face the possibility of opposition squarely at the outset.
- 5. Similarly for last sentence of paragraph 15 and enclosure to which it refers: I agree that these contradictions are deplorable but the fact remains that passage which I cited from later declaration is equally binding and would certainly be quoted against us as the last word on this subject.

[Copies sent to Lord Moyne].

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Colonial Office, Downing Street, S.W. 1.

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SECRET

25 October, 1943.

Dear Eyres,

As promised over the telephone on Saturday, I am sending you a copy of a record which I made of the discussion here on the 15th of October

It was not intended as a formal account of the proceedings, but perhaps it is sufficiently detailed to meet Peterson's requirements. If you would wish to suggest any amendments please do not hesitate to do so.

Yours sincerely,

Essoyd.

H.M. EYRES, ESQ.

MOPY

SECRET

Record of a meeting held at the Colonial Office at 11 a.m. on the 15th October.

Present :-

Sir George Gater,
Mr. G. Palmer, M.P.,
Sir Douglas Harris,
Mr. Boyd,
Lord Moyne,

Sir Arthur Rucker, Mr. Armstrong, Sir Maurice Peterson, Mr. Baxter, Mr. Eyres.

The meeting had been arranged to consider a memorandum by Lord Moyne on "Palestine and the Proposed Syrian Union" and a Colonial Office memorandum on "A Plan for the Partition of Palestine".

Lord Moyne explained that he had already drafted a second memorandum on Jewish settlement in former Italian possessions in Africa. Mr. Baxter said that the Foreign Office had completed a paper on the same subject, which was to be circulated to the Ministerial Committee after it had been approved by Mr. Law. Lord Moyne then undertook to let the Foreign Office have a copy of his memorandum so that it might be compared with the Foreign Office paper. If they covered very much the same ground it might not be necessary for him to circulate his memorandum to the Ministerial Committee.

Sir George Gater said that it would be useful to have the views of the Foreign Office on the two papers on "Palestine and the Proposed Syrian Union" and the "Plan for Partition".

Sir Maurice Peterson explained that the Foreign Office, for reasons not within his control, had been regrettably behind-hand with the completion of their own memoranda. In a paper which they were on the point of producing, the line they proposed to take was that any

Palestine

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Palestine settlement should be fitted into Great Britain's Middle East policy and without imposing an undue strain upon it. It had been decided, with Mr. Eden's authority, that the American views on this subject, which were always to unpredictable and diffuse, need not be taken into account, though at a later stage of course the U.S. Government would have to be consulted.

Britain would have to draw heavily on her credit with the Arab countries of the Middle East after the war: Persia and Egypt, both semi-Arab countries, had been of help to us. There was not form the brown very much of a credit balance for us except perhaps with Itaq where we had to our gain the suppression of Rashid Ali. There would also be to our Arab federation Therefore Sin M. Peterson felt Arab federation. Therefore, Sir M. Peterson felt that any Palestine settlement that went beyond the Rackis creation of a merely "token" Jewish State would Ali be very difficult to fit in without bringing the wolf whole structure down. He had studied the Colonial Office draft and it appeared to him that the partition plan therein advocated was very similar to that recommended by the Peel Commission except (1) that it retained Galilee for the Arabs, and (2) that the Arabs were to lose Jaffa and the Jaffa-Jerusalem corridor. But there were apparent drawbacks. The lines drawn on the map for the Colonial Office scheme seemed to present an almost ideal troublemaking affair for the two States, which touched each other at every conceivable point. the Foreign Office were not very happy about the inclusion in the Jewish State of the Huleh Valley. He would like to know what the reasons were for its inclusion. Was it on account of an excess of Jewish population there, or was it because of the economic possibilities of the region? If the latter, he felt that we ought not to be too much affected by the economic possibilities. Was it our business to say that because the Arabs won't develop the place the Jews must have it? The Foreign Office were apprehensive of the results of this kind or doctrine. The Americans were frankly talking in terms of big

business

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business in the Middle East. He was very doubtful as to the need for the inclusion in the Jewish State of this north-eastern salient. The Foreign Office therefore preferred Plan "C" of the Partition Commission, i.e. a purely "token" Jewish State, which might be supplemented by settlements in other parts of the world so as to create a Jewish lebensraum. He noticed that the Woodhead Commission did not give the Jews access to Tiberias, but the Foreign Office would not wish to oppose the inclusion of Tiberias in the Jewish State.

Further, it appeared that under both plans (i.e. Mr. Amery's and the Colonial Office schemes) the Haifa area was to fall within the Jewish State. But surely the Admiralty would want to retain Haifa, in which case the best arrangement might be to keep Jerusalem and the Haifa area perimeter under a British High Commissioner; not, of course, under a League of Nations mandate but under a British treaty of Land a mandate but under a

Sir M. Peterson felt sure that the Service Departments would not agree to place Haifa in the Jewish State and, so far as the Arabs were concerned, they would feel more than ever shut away from the coast if Haifa was to be included, not in a mandated area, but in purely Jewish territory.

Lord Moyne explained that the authorities in the Middle East did not desire to retain Britain possession of Haifa and surrounding territory so long as strong treaty rights had been acquired in a settlement with the Jews. The defence of the Nile would in future be undertaken from Benghazi; Haifa would remain one of the bastions of British defence in the Eastern Mediterranean, but it would lie within the Jewish State. His recollection was that General Sir Maitland Wilson had been definite in his view that the Haining plan for the retention of Haifa and the perimeter zone was no longer necessary.

Sir M. Peterson reiterated that it was very questionable whether the main bastion of Haifa should be in a Jewish State.

The last point that he wished to raise was that the Colonial Office paper appeared to Lidestep gracefully the proposal about Greater Syria. The Foreign Office

shared

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shared the apprehensions to the Colonial Office about the Greater Syria project being linked up from the outset with Partition. He quite understood that without the Greater Syria plan Galilee would be cut off from Arab Moslem territory and left hopelessly stranded between the northern part of the Jewish State and a semi-Christian State of Lebanon. But why leave the Arabs in this position? Would it not be better to give them the Huleh Valley? In which case there would be a continuous belt of Arab territory in the north from the coast through Galilee and Huleh to southern, Syria and Trans-Jordan. He realised that the Arabs The argume would get a very nasty shock and therefore it might be . 600 better to give them some compensation, e.g. through the establishment of a Greater Syria with ancaddition of territory from the Lebanon, and freedom for the Arabs of Palestine.

The Foreign Office agreed that the mandates for Palestine and Trans-Jordan should be swept away; but they were not sure that it might not be better to unite an Arab Palestine and Trans-Jordan under the Amir Abdullah and then let Arab Federation take its course. It must be realised that the Greater Syria project was going to cause serious trouble with the French although, from the Foreign Office point of view, they welcomed a scheme for the partition of Palestine and for the abolition of the mandates for Palestine and Trans-Jordan. Difficulties would arise from the manner in who which the frontiers were drawn. He agreed that we should \in insist with the French that their point of view was not going to stand in the way of an Arab federation, but the French were very apprehensive of the loss of influence in the Levant If the Lebanon and Syria were to bellinked together in a Greater Syria and a scheme of Arab federation were then to be superimposed, the French might well feel that they would have no influence left in this part of the world.

Further, Ibn Saud's reactions would have to be taken into account. The King was likely to oppose the Greater Syria plan not only because he would fear that the authority of the Hashimite dynasty would be enhanced, but also because the creation of a strong unified Arab State in the north would

greatly

greatly outweigh the importance of his own territories. We had to rely on Ibn Saud to help us to put the Partition scheme across with the Arabs of Palestine, and it might not be judicious for us to appear to have definitely gone into Nuri's camp against Ibn Saud.

Finally, Sir M. Peterson assumed that the White Paper policy could not be disolved without prior consultation with both Arabs and Jews. He thought it important that the Cabinet Committee should at some stage record that, owing to the sufferings of the Jews, it was essential that a Jewish State should be created. The Jewish people had been so dispersed that the consience of the civilised world demanded the establishment of a Jewish State, and that could best be attained in Palestine with the addition of satellite colonies elsewhere.

Sir M. Peterson said that the Foreign Office paper giving an appreciation of repercussions in the Arab world to the Partition policy in Palestine would be circulated, but that it would not comment on the proposals in the two papers now before the meeting: it would be confined to an appreciation of the general Arab background in the Middle East.

Sir G. Gater thought it would be a pity if there was to be no link between the Foreign Office Paper on the one hand and the Colonial Office and Minister of State's memoranda on the other.

Sir M. Peterson said that he would expect the Ministerial Committee to consider the various Partition plans proposed and when they had decided on one of them ask the Foreign Office for their views on it.

Sir G. Gater explained that he was merely anxious at this stage to get the greatest measure of agreement and eliminate difficulties. As he understood it the Foreign Office were not against partition in principle, but thought it would be difficult to carry out, also they had certain objections to the form of Partition suggested.

/Lord Moyne

Lord Moyne suggested that the points raised by Sir M. Peterson might be taken in their order.

Sir D. Harris, dealing first with the frontiers, explained that all Partition boundaries created difficulties. An effort had been made in the Middle East plan so to draw the frontier line as not to separate Arab villages from their lands, thus Obviating the erection of large numbers of landless Arabs. Turning to the Huleh Valley, there were 37,000 Arabs and 5,000 Jews in the Safad The country around Lake Huleh was a plague Sub-district. spot from which mosquitoes ranged all over the area. the other hand, it was the best irrigation area in Palestine, and the Jews had obtained an important concession deriving from the Turks for the drainage and reclamation of the whole Incidentally, this concession gave a considerable area of land to the local Arabs. The main justification for the inclusion in the Jewish State of the Huleh Valley area was the existence of this concession.

Further south, it had been thought advisable to include Tulkarm in the Arab area. As regards Jaffa, the position now was that this Arab town had been completely encircled by Jewish land. Unless Jaffa itself were to be a separate enclave the only alternative now was to include it with Tel-Aviv in the Jewish State. South of Jaffa the proposed frontier largely followed the line of the Land Transfers Regulations Zene.

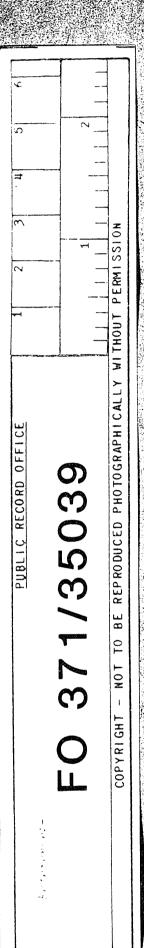
Sir D. Harris added that, if Jaffa were given to the Jews, serious trouble might be expected from the Arabs of the town and neighbouring district.

The proposed Jerusalem State had been so defined as to include not only the City of Jerusalem but also the Christian towns of Bethlehem and Ramallah.

Sir M. Peterson suggested that the fact that Jews wishing to proceed from the coast to the Jerusalem State, would have to pass through a belt of Arab country, was a drawback to the proposal for a separate Jerusalem State in the hinterland. Surely there was a case for the creation of

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a corridor from Jerusalem to the coast to obviate this difficulty?

Lord Moyne said that we had got to bear in mind the importance of arranging a comfortable Jewish majority in their new State, with as much Arab land as possible and as few Arabs included in it. General Smuts, with whom he had a recent conversation, had been surprisingly cordial with regard to the Greater Syria project. Indeed he was convinced that it was an ideal that we could not neglect. Lord Moyne enquired whether there were Jewish plantations in the Huleh area. If the Huleh Valley area were left out would it reduce the Jewish population in the new State?

Sir D. Harris explained that the Huleh salient contained 385,000 dunums of Arab land and 150,000 dunums of Jewish land, with an Arab population of 37,000 and a Jewish population of 5,000. If, therefore, Huleh were omitted from the Jewish State the Jewish majority there would be increased, but it would at the same time increase the Jewish minority in the Arab territory.

Lord Moyne suggested that, if we could not get a connection for Galilee with Syria in the manner proposed, it might be worth while to attempt the exclusion of the Huleh salient from the Jewish State; but in his view it would be better to put through the Greater Syria scheme. We should do everything we could to satisfy the Arabs generally. Nuri was much keener on the Greater Syria project as a step towards Federation. In Lord Moyne's view the idea of Federation was receding to the background. Nahas didn't dream of coming into any Federation scheme. The French were likely to be very difficult when the time came for a settlement with them, particularly over Tunisia and Algeria, but we ought to be able to remove their fears. representative at Cairo and M. Garriau both took a favourable Miew of the Greater Syria scheme provided that French strategic interests were fully safeguarded. French would get all they wanted by treaties with the

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Lebanon and Greater Syria; the danger was that if they got these treaties in the near future they might be able to interpose a barrier between us and our objectives. Ibn Saud had been suprisingly frank in his recent admission that the future of Syria was not really his business. Lord Mowne thought that we could exagerate his importance in this matter: his people were not of the same religious sect as the Arabs of the Levant States. He was the ruler of a most interesting mediaeval state but he had no moral right to intervene in preventing Arab Federation when in fact his people were of different racial The people of Saudi Arabia had no economic interests in the Syrian group and their prejudices should not be allowed to stand in the way of a long-range settlement. Actually Lord Moyne did not consider there was any real danger of a Hashimite dynasty being created in Greater Syria: the tendency would be rather towards a Republican régime.

Tewfik Pasha had assured Mr. Kirkbride recently that the Trans Jordan Government would not let Abdullah's interests stand in the way of the establishment of a Greater Syria. Bord Moyne agreed with Sir M. Peterson that plans would have to be carefully worked out when the Cabinet had decided on their policy. He would be in favour of telling the French that they were not to be deprived of their rights: Britain would predominate in the south and France in the north. The Arabs and the Jews ought to be taken into consultation and they should be told that this was a settlement which had got to be accepted. So far as Syria and the Lebanon were concerned General Catroux's proclamation on the occupation of Syria was of importance.

"Vous serez donc, désormais, des peuples souverains et indépendants et vous pourrez, soit vous constituer en Etats distincts, soit vous rassembler en un seul Etat."

We ought to insist on the French agreeing to postpone their treaties with the Syrians and the Lebanese until Britain was in a position to make her treaties also.

/Sir M Peterson

Sir M. Peterson, turning again to the Huleh Valley area, enquired whether it was really necessary to press for the creation of a Greater Syria. Could we not be content with the union of the lesser area of Arab Palestine and Trans-Jordan?

Lord Moyne said that we must take into account the interpretation placed by the Arabs on Ministerial Statements. Even Mr. Eden's statement last year about Arab Federation was now described by the Arabs as a pledge. The Arabs knew very well that they could never effect Arab Federation as a result of their own efforts. They felt that Britain was committed to this statement and they relied on her to see that it was carried into effect.

So far as the Amir Abdullah was concerned Lord Moyne felt that there were two alternatives. First, Greater Syria might acquiesce in accepting him as Ring or President for his lifetime, with no dynastic undertaking. Secondly, he might be left as local Amir in Trans-Jordan with a purely honorific title.

Sir D. Harris said that the feeling of the Palestine Arabs would be much more favourable to the Partition project if they were to be included in a large State such as Greater Syria, and not merely lumped in with Trans-Jordan. Lord Mayne agreed: this had been one of the reasons for turning down the Woodhead Commission's Partition scheme. He added that Mr. Shertok had recently pointed out the remarkable change in the attitude of Nuri Pasha, who appeared to be much more sympathetic towards the Jews and had displayed quite a different spirit in recent conversations.

Sir G. Gater thought it might be worth while examining more carefully whether the Huleh Valley area should not be left in Arab territory. He enquired how long it was thought that the 45,000 Jewish majority in the Jewish State would remain and how long the Jewish majority might predominate. Sir D. Harris explained that it had been contemplated throughout that a system of communal representation in the

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bodies of the new Jewish State would be essential, if only to prevent unnecessary immigration solely for the purpose of maintaining a Jewish majority. 18% of the Jewish population were occupying 85% of the Jewish land: in their propaganda the value of the agricultural side of their activities had been greatly overdone. In fact, it took twice as much land to support a Jew as it did an Arab.

Sir G. Gater enquired whether the frontiers had been drawn with the purpose of giving economic advantages to the Jews. Sir D. Harris answered in the negative. The frontiers had more or less drawn themselves having regard to the position of the Jewish land, but in fact, the Jewish State included all the economic assets of importance, including all the Jewish citrus and a majority of the Arab citrus plantations. Sir G. Gater enquired whether, on the assumption that the problem of Haifa might be left out of account for the moment, and if the northern salient were eliminated from the Jewish State, the Foreign Office would be much out of line with our point of view.

Sir M Peterson said that he thought that the Foreign Office views might be made to fit in with the proposals in the Colonial Office paper, but they were apprehensive of the proposal that the Arabs should be left without a port and that substantial blocks of Arabs should be included in the Jewish State. He thought it would be possible to attach a Foreign Office caveat at the end of the Colonial Office paper. In answer to an enquiry by Sir G. Gater, Sir M. Peterson agreed to send the Colonial Office a copy of the Foreign Office memorandum on the Palestine question and its relation to our Middle Eastern policy, which had now been approved by Mr. Eden. Sir G. Gater enquired how much importance the Foreign Office attached to the Huleh salient aspect of the question: would it be vital? Sir M. Peterson said that it certainly greatly increased the difficulties because if it were persisted in, the Greater Syria project would become a geographical necessity.

Lord Moyne considered, however, that the Greater Syria scheme was not indispensable to the success of the Partition project because, after all, Galilee could be included in a Greater Lebanon. He suggested that the Partition scheme could be put

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forward on the basis of one or other of the two alternatives, of a Greater Syria or a Galilee included in a Greater Lebanon. The inhabitants of Galilee would not be likely to object to either; they would certainly prefer to be included in Lebanon than left in a Jewish State.

Sir G. Gater enquired whether the Foreign Office intended their general paper on the Palestine question, in relation to Middle East policy, to come forward separately as planned. Would their comments on the Partition of Palestine form a separate paper?

Sir M. Peterson agreed that Foreign office general paper would be separate, and as regards the second point, he thought it would be best to proceed by way of a Foreign Office addendum to the papers produced by the Colonial Office and Lord Moyne. This might be reasonably short and would suggest the modifications necessary to decrease the Foreign Office difficulties. At Sir G. Gater's request Sir M. Peterson undertook to let the Colonial office have copies of both these documents in draft form.

(Sgd.) E.B. Boyd.

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FOREIGN OFFICE, S.W. 1., 2nd November, 1943.

Dear Boyd,

In your letter No. 75872/43 (S) of the 25th October, you sent us a copy of your record of the discussion held at the Colonial Office on the 15th October regarding Palestine. Peterson has been unwell for a few days, but has now seen this record and would like to suggest the following amendments.

Page 2, lines 4 and 5, amend to read:-

"that the American views on this subject, "which were unpredictable, need not at this "stage be taken into".

Page 2, paragraph 2, line 3, amend to read:-

"the war: Egypt, which was only a semi-Arab "country, had been of help to us".

Page 2, paragraph 2, line 6, amend to read:-

"where we could claim a set-off against the "Rashid Ali revolt".

Page 3, end of first paragraph, omit the words "but the Foreign Office . . . the Jewish State".

Page 3, end of second paragraph, amend to read:-

"but under a British treaty or with a mandate "from the United Nations".

Page 4, end of first paragraph, amend to read:-

E.B. Boyd, Esq., C.M.G., C.V.O.

"He/

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"He realised the argument was that the "Arabs would get".

Page 4, paragraph 2, line 7, amend to read:-

"point of view, they would concur" reluctantly in a scheme for".

(Signed) C.W. BAXTER.

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